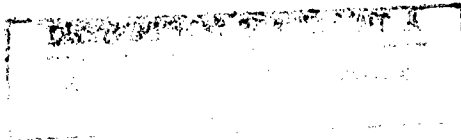


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 March 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CSSR ATTITUDE, CONTRIBUTION TO UNESCO EXPLAINED

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 1, 4 Jan 84 p 6

[Interview with Dr Ladislav Smid, leading secretary, Czechoslovak Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO]

[Text] [Question] What were the main topics discussed at the 22nd meeting of the UNESCO General Conference and how has this organization reacted to the worsening international situation?

[Answer] The main topic at the 22nd General Conference held at the UNESCO Palace in Paris from 25 October through 26 November of this year was a 2-year draft program and budget for 1984-1985. This is the first program for implementing the prospective or so-called intermediate-range plan to cover the 6-year period between 1984 and 1989 approved at a special session of the General Conference last year. The worsening international situation was reflected in the proceedings of the conference. It is necessary to keep in mind that at the time of the conference protests against placing American intermediate-range rockets in Western Europe took place. Also, the United States invaded Grenada at the time the conference started.

The U.S. invasion of Grenada was condemned not only by the delegations from the socialist countries but also by a number of delegations from developing countries. The aggravated international situation was also reflected in a serious politicization of the attitudes of the delegates from the developing countries. More than ever before we could observe at UNESCO conferences that the speeches of these delegates stressed the need to maintain peace and international security. The debates at the conference also reflected the complicated situation in the Middle East, especially such questions as Israeli discrimination against educational and cultural institutions in the occupied territories and the Jerusalem question.

[Question] Less than a month after the conference ended, President Reagan announced that the United States would boycott the activities of UNESCO and refuse to pay its share of UNESCO's budget when due. Later, it was announced that the United States would quit the organization in 1985. What are the reasons for this attitude on the part of the Reagan administration?

[Answer] The United States and its allies created a big dispute at the conference around the issue of the proposed budget by calling for a reduction in it. They justified their stand by the need to save and by the difficulties now affecting the capitalist economies. However, they did not try to hide their primary motive, which was to limit the progressive activities carried out against their desires. These include primarily such questions as the role of UNESCO in solving the global problems of mankind, the tasks of the organization aimed at maintaining peace and the development of international understanding, the work of UNESCO in the area of mass communication media and a number of other programs and projects listed in the draft budget for the next 2-year period. A compromise draft budget was finally approved against the wishes of the United States. Consequently, Washington, which contributes one-quarter of UNESCO's budget, now is trying to blackmail the organization. The announcement of the American withdrawal from the organization in 1985 is also part of this pressure.

[Question] Judging by American commentators, the most uncomfortable problem the United States and other NATO countries faced was the question of the international communications order...

[Answer] This is the so-called third basic program--information in the service of mankind--which has been from the beginning, and still is, the object of the most vicious attacks and criticism on the part of the United States and other capitalist countries. The proposed program includes concrete measures which are aimed at the Western countries' monopoly on communications media. As is well known, the four largest multinational monopolies distribute in effect over 90 percent of the information available in the developing countries. The program of UNESCO aims to bring about more balance into the flow of information, assisting the developing countries in building their own technical base and infrastructure, including the training of journalists, offering them the necessary communications technology, etc. Naturally, all these programs run counter to the interests of the imperialist information monopolies. For this reason, the United States and other capitalist countries oppose the program under the guise of the slogan "full and unlimited freedom of information." During the vote on the pertinent provisions, the Western countries naturally voted against or abstained. However, a majority of the states represented at the conference was in favor. The progressive character of this program was retained and in several instances even broadened.

[Question] There also was a proposal to hold the next General Conference of UNESCO in Sofia. Why was this proposal subject to attack?

[Answer] Most of the capitalist countries objected to this proposal because to hold such a conference in a socialist country would obviously increase the prestige of the socialist states within UNESCO. Naturally, the delegations of the capitalist countries did not argue their case this way. They based their argument on the fact that the previous meeting of the General Conference, held in Belgrade in 1980, had approved a certain amount for modernizing the UNESCO Palace in Paris. Now, they argued, after such an investment to modernize the building, its premises ought to be fully used. Finally, even this question was settled by a vote. The conference approved the Bulgarian proposal by

98 votes. This is obviously a persuasive majority and naturally the result of such an action strengthens the position of the socialist countries.

[Question] The years 1984-1989 will see the implementation of the second part of the so-called intermediate-range plan of the organization. What long-range UNESCO tasks are spelled out in this plan?

[Answer] The activity of UNESCO within its fields, namely, education and training, the natural and social sciences, culture, information and dissemination of information, is laid out in 13 basic programs, based on an analysis of global problems. Primary attention is paid to the most pressing current questions--peace, disarmament, and such questions as environment, total elimination of colonialism, racism, apartheid, etc. These basic programs are spelled out in an interdisciplinary way. Thus, for example, a program which deals with science is also reflected in several other programs dealing with other issues.

[Question] Could you tell us more about these 13 programs?

[Answer] The first basic program stems from an analysis of world problems and studies concerning the prospects for the future. The second program is entitled "Education for All"; it is naturally subdivided into a series of other programs. Priority is given to the fight against illiteracy and to democratization of education. Other programs are: Information in the Service of Mankind; Formation and Application of Educational Policy; Information Systems and the Scientific Method; Science, Technology and Society; Environment, Land and Sea-bed Resources; Culture and the Future; The Fight against Prejudice, Intolerance, Racism and Apartheid; Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and National Rights. To this we must also add the 14th program: The Status of Women. In the current international situation, we are especially interested in the program entitled: Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and National Rights, which encourages cooperation in the areas of education, science and culture and is to help in maintaining peace and international security.

[Question] What is Czechoslovakia's part in the work of UNESCO?

[Answer] Czechoslovakia is among 20 founding members of UNESCO. During the years of our membership we have been active in all areas. We have contributed to the fulfillment of the tasks of the entire organization and also used our membership in UNESCO to advance our own national economy, science and culture. What was our contribution to the overall results of the General Conference? We contributed by successfully defending the proposed program and helped prevent attempts to amend it; we assisted in improving the program so that it would become a good base for further broadening of cooperation among all socialist countries in its implementation. The conference saw the adoption of several basic political resolutions proposed by the socialist countries, in the first place a resolution entitled "The Role of UNESCO in Formulating Public Opinion in Order To Stop the Arms Race and To Institute Disarmament," but also the resolutions concerning the contribution of UNESCO toward peace and its tasks in assisting the spread of human rights and fighting colonialism



and racism. UNESCO will also take part in the commemorations of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II in 1985. Also to be mentioned is a resolution entitled "Cultural and Scientific Cooperation Based on Mutual Equality"--an important element in strengthening peace, friendship and mutual understanding among nations which guides the work of UNESCO in these areas toward the peaceful mission of this organization. There were resolutions adopted concerning the situation in the Far East, the work and status of women, a resolution concerning the world's cultural monuments, important anniversaries, the status and role of youth in contemporary society and UNESCO's share in the International Youth Year to take place in 1985... From the point of view of the socialist countries, success is also noted in the elections to various UNESCO organs, including the election of several members of the executive council which directs the UNESCO work between the meetings of the General Conference. A Czechoslovak representative was elected deputy chairman of the General Conference and thus took part in the work of its steering committee. A member of our delegation was deputy chairman of the Legal Committee. We also played an active role in the adoption of the resolutions I mentioned, co-authoring some of them. In addition, we proposed a series of concrete resolutions and suggestions to enrich the draft 2-year program and at the same time expand cooperation between Czechoslovakia and UNESCO.

[Question] What are the aims of such cooperation in the future?

[Answer] Cooperation will aim in the first place at fulfilling the permanent priority tasks decisive for the work of UNESCO, namely, to contribute to the strengthening of peace and international security. We will follow this basic policy in developing cooperation of our educational, scientific and cultural institutions in all spheres of UNESCO work. In education and training, for example, we expect a number of UNESCO actions to support peace and disarmament. Our scientific institutions will continue their active participation in important intergovernmental programs for environmental protection, hydrology, geology, biology, etc. In this connection, we must especially appreciate the election of the CSSR to a newly constituted intergovernmental committee for dissemination of information. This will make it possible for our experts to participate in formulating programs and at the same time gain information and new knowledge. Our concrete initiative at the conference has led to our share in the establishment of the world's cultural video fund, the participation of UNESCO in the preparations for an exhibition of a children's art project in Lidice, cooperation in protecting museum collections against atmospheric damage, UNESCO participation in the AIERI (International Association for Research in Mass Communications Media) conference which will take place in Prague in 1984, establishment of UNESCO's European laboratory for the application of electrochemistry in solving environmental problems (at the CSAV's J. Heyrovsky Institute of Physical Chemistry and Electrochemistry), etc. We also succeeded at the conference when the latter approved the continuation with UNESCO financial contributions of post-graduate courses organized in Czechoslovakia in various scientific disciplines for scientific workers from the developing countries. These courses are highly appreciated by UNESCO and have become an object of great interest on the part of the developing countries. These few words on our work in the near future do not, of course, constitute a full list of our future activity. I only would like to stress that cooperation between the CSSR and UNESCO will continue in the future and will bring benefits to both sides.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### JAKES EXPRESSES GRATITUDE FOR SOVIET AID SINCE 1948

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 24, Dec 83 pp 67-72

[Article by Milos Jakes, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee: "The Fraternal Alliance and Friendship Between the Czechoslovak and Soviet Peoples Are Getting Stronger"]

[Text] The venerable traditions of the relations of friendship and fraternal feelings of the Czech and Slovak peoples toward the peoples of the Soviet Union number hundreds of years. Engendered as ideas of slav kinship and devoted to progressive and revolutionary ideals, they took the shape of a feeling of sympathy on the part of workers for the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution in which the Czech and Slovak peoples saw the prototype of their own journey to liberation and to the establishment of a just social order. Later, admiration for the Soviet people's accomplishments in their creative work and for their heroism in the struggle against the fascist oppressors which was crowned with victory in the Second World War was added to this attitude. The Soviet Union's victory saved our people from the danger of permanently losing their independence and freedom and was the main international factor in liberating Czechoslovakia from fascism and restoring its national state system and sovereignty and was a condition for the successful struggle to reacquire national independence and reconstruct the republics on new social foundations.

The conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, whose 40th anniversary we are celebrating in December of this year, inspired in the Czechoslovak people new hopes and faith in the final victory and capability to carry out the social restructuring on the new foundation. This treaty marked the triumph of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's national and international policy. In the spirit of Marxist-Leninist teachings, it linked national liberation with progress in the political, social and economic system of society and with the new republic's foreign policy orientation toward the Soviet Union. This orientation has been called upon to always guarantee the national freedom, independence and security of the Czechoslovak republic as the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks.

The alliance and friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples, which were sealed with jointly shed blood in the struggle against fascism, became stronger and were further developed during the construction of the people's democratic Czechoslovakia. During the short time to 1948, the national economy managed to be rebuilt, industry was supplied with the necessary raw materials, and the supply of the population with basic food products was put right with the help of the Soviet Union. Thanks to the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the National Front government and with the wide support of the workers, important measures were carried out in the economy which undermined the economic power of the bourgeoisie: A major part of the means of production in industry, the banks, and foreign trade were nationalized; and the land was given to those who worked on it. The development of the national democratic revolution into a socialist one took place during this stage.

The main question of the revolution: "Who will win?", was placed on the agenda; and the question: "Will Czechoslovakia be a component part of the world socialist system that was taking shape or will it again return to the bosom of capitalism?" became an historical one for the Czech and Slovak peoples in an international respect. The Czechoslovak Communist Party headed by its experienced leader, Klement Gottwald, creatively employed Lenin's theory on transforming a national democratic revolution into a socialist one. The use of the CPSU's practical experience had invaluable importance for it. On the basis of this, the Czechoslovak Communist Party attracted the broad masses of the workers to support its policy. The victory of the working people over reaction in February 1948 finally determined Czechoslovakia's choice in favor of socialism and the prospects for firm and unbreakable friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. The consistent international policy and international authority of the Soviet Union was a decisive external factor in the February victory of Czechoslovakia's workers.

From the first day of the national democratic system's existence the alliance with the Soviet Union defended our country from open interventionist actions by the imperialist camp and permitted our people to devote all their efforts to solving the complicated problems in the construction of socialism and to raising the material, social and cultural level of the people. During the period of the "cold war" aggravation of tensions in the world and economic blockade by the west, we relied on the disinterested economic, scientific, technical, and cultural help of the Soviet people; and we encountered a complete understanding of our problems and the methods for solving them. Relations between our countries gradually moved to a qualitatively higher phase, which was determined by the influence of socialist internationalist principles, where new general laws of class and state cooperation began to be implemented. Mutual economic ties began to play a more important role. For example, during the five-year period from 1950 to 1955, the export of Czechoslovak products to the USSR increased almost twofold. On the other hand, a thorough structural reorganization, especially in Czechoslovak industry which began to play the role of a machine building base for the other countries who were building socialism, was carried out thanks to the Soviet Union's assistance.

The Leninist teachings and practical experience of the CPSU, which have enormous international significance, played an invaluable role for our party and people. A program for industrializing the national economy and collectivizing agriculture, a cultural revolution program, was successfully implemented; and the international prestige and significance of Czechoslovakia as a firm link in the world socialist commonwealth were strengthened. The enormous importance and historical necessity for an alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union are being simultaneously confirmed by all socialist construction practices. That is why it was right that the 1943 Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation was extended by the mutual agreement of the parties another 20 years in 1963.

The implementation of our treaty over the course of many years has provided ever newer evidence of the benefits of the mutual relations not only for our country but also for the struggle of the forces of peace and progress against reaction throughout the world. The more significant our mutual successes were, the more serious and malicious were the attempts of our enemies to damage our relationships. The Czechoslovak people were convinced of this at the end of the Sixties when the bloc of rightwing opportunist and antisocialist forces with the complicity of imperialist circles misused for their own interest the criticism of the party and state leadership's shortcomings and mistakes that was heard on the eve of January 1968, took advantage of the rightwing opportunist activity of the majority of the members of the Communist Party's leadership, and shifted to an open attack against the foundation of the socialist state. The reactionary forces set as their goal the achieving of the demoralization of the authority of the working class and working people, the undermining of the Communist Party's leading role and the tearing of Czechoslovakia from the socialist commonwealth. It is no coincidence that these forces heated up and spread nationalistic and antisocialistic hysteria in our people using every means. Our party has thoroughly welcomed the proposition in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov during the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "It is necessary to pay for one's mistakes in politics. When the leading role of the Communist Party is weakened, the danger arises of sliding toward a bourgeois reformist development path. The bond of the party with the people is lost ...." These important statements help us to delve more deeply into the essence of the crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968-1969.

In the area of domestic policy, the reactionary forces -- in order to achieve their goals -- are counting on the party's weakening, the loss of its leading role when it is separated from the masses, and the decomposition and elimination of the worker's authority. Concerning the foreign policy field, the main stress is being placed on undermining relations with the Soviet Union. That is why our enemy also tried to gradually break the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation between our countries and achieve a change in the orientation of our foreign policy. A serious threat hung over the freedom and national sovereignty of Czechoslovakia. Under the conditions of society's deep decomposition when the leadership of the party was in the hands of the rightwing, when the organs of state authority, security and justice and the army were weakened and when the aggressiveness of

the counterrevolutionary forces had increased, the help that was provided by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty was the only opportunity to overcome the crisis by mobilizing internal political forces and resources. Life convincingly proved that it is necessary not only to build socialism together on the basis of mutual help but also to defend it collectively when necessary.

After the international help of the fraternal socialist countries prevented the complete decomposition of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the main task of the Czechoslovak communists was to restore the party and its leading role in society on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Along with this, one of the most important preconditions for successfully consolidating the situation and further developing socialism was an urgent return to the Czechoslovak Communist Party's revolutionary and internationalist policy with regard to the USSR. As Klement Gottwald pointed out, this was the touchstone of the attitude toward socialism and progress in general.

The new leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party headed by Comrade Gustav Husak consistently revived all socialist principles in domestic and foreign policy. Fraternal relations were also completely restored with all the member states of the Warsaw Treaty. By its 14th congress, the Czechoslovak Communist Party had restored the Marxist-Leninist nature of the party. The crisis in the party and society was overcome using political struggle methods. This encountered the understanding and support of an absolute majority of the workers. The 14th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress marked the completion of the consolidation process and enunciated the general line for the construction of a developed socialist society. In their struggle against reaction and during the process of consolidating the situation and carrying out the construction of developed socialism, the Czechoslovak people were again convinced who their true and most reliable friend is.

In 1970, a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union which accepted the traditions of the 1943 alliance treaty and which reflected the changes that had occurred in the international arena, the strengthening of socialism's positions in the world and the increased level of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. This treaty expresses the will of both our countries to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist commonwealth and confirms their fidelity to the common international duty of all socialist countries -- to do everything to strengthen and defend the socialist accomplishments that have been achieved at the cost of the heroic efforts and selfless work of each country's people. All of the legal, political and economic aspects of this treaty testify that this document reflects a new and higher type of international relations.

In a domestic policy regard, mutual assistance contributes for both of our countries to the implementation of a Marxist-Leninist program for society's political, economic, social and cultural development. The successes of Czechoslovak workers, which have been achieved in the construction of socialism under the direction of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and the developed economy, which relies on the powerful production, scientific and technical

potential and enormous natural resources of the Soviet Union, have permitted the Czechoslovak people to enter on to the path of constructing a developed socialist society.

The key task within this general economic development policy is to increase the efficiency of the national economy through intensification. This envisages a substantial reorganization both in the mechanism for controlling the economy and in its branch structure and technical equipping and the widespread introduction of scientific and technical achievements. We are receiving large benefits from the fact that we are able to pursue a course toward intensification, relying on broad cooperation and using the experience, achievements and latest developments in Soviet science, techniques and technology.

Soviet methods for controlling the national economy and measures to further develop worker initiative and make their participation in the control of the state more active are no less valuable for us. Proceeding from Leninist principles of democratic centralism and the experience that was acquired during the cooperation of our communist parties and socialist states, we see that the way to improve control of the national economy lies in no way in administrative and bureaucratic methods nor in unjustified decentralization which leads to anarchy. We intend to strengthen the role of the centralized planning principle and encourage the further development of socialist democracy in management so that it will be responsive to the interest of all of society and eliminate narrow departmental local tendencies; so that the operation of costaccounting principles will be expanded in enterprises; so that state, labor and technological discipline will be strictly observed; and so that socialist distribution principles will be consistently strengthened in accordance with the amount and quality of labor.

In the struggle for the intensification of the national economy, the decisive and -- in the full meaning of this word -- transforming role belongs to new production factors, in particular, to scientific and technical progress and socialist economic integration -- primarily cooperation with the USSR. The special purpose orientation in the development of science and technology is not dictated by the momentary necessity to solve maturing problems and insure a rapid improvement in the national economy's intensification. Our party is proposing it as a strategic task whose realization at an ever higher level is a precondition for constructing the material technical base of communism and the communist method of production.

The satisfaction of the growing demands in the domestic and primarily in the foreign marketplace depends on the more complete use of science and technology. As was pointed out during the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, machine building and electrical engineering, on which the increase in the consumers' cost of articles, the rapid updating of the variety of goods produced, the improvement of technical and consumer performance, and the lowering of production's material and energy intensiveness depend to a decisive degree, play a key role in this regard under the conditions in Czechoslovakia.

It was again pointed out during the June 1983 Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, that scientific, technical and production cooperation with CEMA member countries, especially the Soviet Union, has first and foremost significance for the Czechoslovak economy. Even in the past, such installations as, for example, the Vostochnoslovatskiy Metallurgical Combine in city of Kosice, our first plant for the production of aluminum in the city of Zhar na Gron, a number of large machine building plants, the "Slovnaft" petrochemical combine, the Prague subway, etc., were erected in Czechoslovakia with the help of the Soviet Union. A number of technically complicated production methods, whose appearance was connected with the carrying out of the scientific and technical revolution as, for example, nuclear engineering and electronic computers, were mastered with the assistance of the Soviet Union. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has done its bit in all space projects in accordance with the "Interkosmos" program and in processing the received data and is cooperating in the conducting of experiments within the Soviet space program. Such important projects as the "Soyuz" gas pipeline and the Kiyembayevskiy Asbestos Mining Enrichment Combine, have been erected and new capacities for the production of raw materials containing iron and ferroalloys are being commissioned through joint efforts and with the active participation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the other socialist countries.

The distribution of labor between our countries is continuously being improved by multilateral and bilateral jointly agreed programs that are oriented toward the solution of pivotal scientific and technical problems. At the present time, cooperation in the area of producing products employing the latest achievements of science and complicated equipment as, for example, robotics, electronics, hydraulics, bioengineering, etc., is moving to the foreground. Simultaneously with this, the process of mutually beneficial specialization and cooperation, especially in the production of new machine tools, equipment and materials that possess qualitatively new parameters is being expanded. In order to realize the principles of the Long-Range Program for the Development of Specialization and Cooperation Between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the USSR for the Period out to 1990, 18 branch sub-programs, which define the main directions for specialization and cooperation in different branches of the national economy, were agreed to.

Figures are the best evidence of the deepening cooperation. In 1970 when the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed between our countries, the foreign trade turnover between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the USSR reached more than two billion rubles (in current prices) and by 1982 it had already reached 9.8 billion rubles. This year, the foreign trade turnover between our countries will exceed 10 billion rubles. This, however, does not mean that we should be satisfied with what has been achieved.

The deepening of direct production, scientific and technical cooperation between the establishments and economic organizations of our countries, including the creation of joint enterprises, firms, associations and scientific research and design bureaus, has considerable importance for the consistent improvement of the entire socialist economic integration mechanism.

Despite the fact that process is still in the initial stage, it is quite clear that we are talking about a qualitatively new moment in socialist economic integration. Experience shows that direct cooperation significantly accelerates the solution of assigned tasks and contributes to the development of the workers' initiative. For example, the people's "Khirana" enterprise in the city of Prague is successfully cooperating with its Soviet partner in the development of so-called stationary diagnostic systems. The employees of the telecommunications scientific research institute are making an effective contribution in the development of automatic telephone exchange equipment. A team of Czechoslovak and Soviet specialists, which has assumed the joint socialist obligation to introduce equipment for measuring and determining the weight of pipes that are delivered to the Soviet Union, has been created in the pipe-rolling metallurgical combine in the city of Chomutov.

Our cooperation is based on the unity of interest and political goals which flow from Marxist-Leninist teachings and which are proclaimed in the program documents of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the CPSU. The creative work of the people -- the source of our society's might -- is the guarantee for realizing these goals.

Each new success of our countries contributes to the realization of the highest goal-- insuring the all-round development of the individual. This is only possible under the conditions of peaceful organizational development. That is why our people approve and support the struggle for peace, which the Soviet Union is waging, and its peaceloving initiatives, which are creating the foundations for halting the mad arms race and eliminating the threat of war. It is known to the world community that it is the Soviet Union and the socialist countries which are proposing recommendations for preserving universal peace in the spirit of their highly principled peaceloving policy.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's statement in connection with the initial deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe was considered in the world as a confirmation of the USSR's adherence to a highly principled policy of preserving peace and halting the arms race and at the same time as a serious warning to those who are pushing the world to the precipice of nuclear catastrophe. The Czechoslovak people fully approve the statement.

The most reactionary imperialist forces, especially those of the United States, are ignoring the will of the people and are steadily intensifying the arms race, striving to upset military parity, achieve superiority and conduct negotiations from a "position of strength". The criminal aggression against the people of Grenada and the threats addressed to other states testify to the increase in American imperialism's aggressiveness and adventurism. The steps of the United States and several of its NATO allies to deploy new American nuclear missiles in a number of Western European countries are a serious danger.

Czechoslovakia cannot regard passively the fact that the United States is hastily completing preparations to deploy medium range missiles not far from its western borders. In the interests of the security of our motherland and the socialist commonwealth, the Czechoslovak government and the USSR



government have decided to begin preparatory work on deploying operational tactical missile systems on the territory of Czechoslovakia.

The most recent history of our country irrefutably proves that the vital interest of the Czechoslovak peoples, freedom, independence, and the peaceful construction of a developed socialist society in our country cannot be insured without the closest cooperation and fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. This is the basic principle that is contained in our constitution and in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the USSR. There is practically no area in which close contacts are not being maintained and in which fruitful cooperation between our countries is not being carried out.

The fraternal relations between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the CPSU, the ideological unity and close interaction of both parties, and their fidelity to the tested principles of socialist internationalism are the foundation and guarantee of this development. Relations between our parties are notable for mutual trust, mutual understanding and the complete coincidence of views on all matters concerning domestic and foreign policy, the strengthening of the socialist countries' unity, and the international communist and workers movement. They are imbued with loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are thereby implementing the great ideas of V. I. Lenin who said that socialism "creates new and higher forms of human society where the legitimate demands and progressive strivings of the working masses of any nationality will be satisfied for the first time in international unity..."

The great party of Lenin has always served for the Czechoslovak communists as a model of faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism and as an example of its creative application, high principles, self-sacrifice, and heroism in overcoming all difficulties and obstacles in the search for ways to construct a new society. The CPSU's wisdom and practical experience has always been and remains for us an invaluable and inexhaustible source to which we turn when solving the problems that arise during the construction of a developed socialist society and in connection with the present situation in the world.

The communists and all the workers of Czechoslovakia are proud of the fact that they can rely on firm cooperation with the Soviet communists and Soviet people in the historical struggle for socialism, peace and social progress. We see in this a guarantee of new victories. This serves as a source of historical optimism for us. Today, the words, which were spoken 13 years ago during the signing of the new treaty by Comrade Gustav Husak and which were filled with great meaning: "The new treaty with the Soviet Union does not only guarantee the free national life of the Czechs and the Slovaks and all of our people and the sovereignty of our state; it is at the same time a guarantee of our socialist development and presents great opportunities for cooperation in the economic, scientific, cultural, technical, and other areas.... On our part, we will faithfully observe it and stand steadfastly shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union, firmly aware of the fact that Czechoslovakia's western borders are also the borders of the socialist camp and that the

development of our state is only possible in a very close union and in friendship with the Soviet Union and the other friendly socialist states", resound with new force.

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REALISM DEMANDED IN WORKER MILITIA COMBAT TRAINING

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 28 No 1, Jan 84 p 6

[Article by Cpt Decker in the 'For the Commander' feature: "Ensure Combat Realism in Training"]

[Text] Continuously to improve combat effectiveness and combat readiness requires that available training time is used effectively, so as to optimize the ability to act and effectiveness of the combat units in a systematic and well-planned manner. The basis for this is created by the unified process of political education and military training.

Extra-scholastic continuing education of commanders and lower echelon leaders provides considerable political, military and methodological prerequisites for successful conduct of combat training. Apart from developing tactical capabilities and skills, it is particularly important to enable unit commanders to use the most suitable methods in their lecturing as well as to make the best possible use of the political and educational aspects of every subject. This must be demonstrated in the course of extra-scholastic continued education.

The emphasis is on training in the field. It should be conducted in the training area allocated to the units. Based on available training guidelines, the instructor in extra-scholastic continued training must explain the subject, demonstrate certain actions, practice tactical conduct and explain methodical procedures in teaching. His goal must be that combat training is conducted by the unit as a whole, because combined action must be reinforced. However, in addition to this, individual training and action by a certain element of the battle formation must be practiced occasionally. It is necessary that the commanders and lower-echelon leaders understand this methodical series of steps and learn to apply it. It is not a question of practicing the entire course of the combat training yet to come. The objective is to teach the points of emphasis. But even while repeatedly practicing a certain action the tactical idea of the overall substance of a training subject must not be lost sight of.

One of the basic requirements consists of conducting all training in a combat-realistic manner, because this constitutes the unit's closest preparation for actual deployment. That is why the most realistic possible situations and conditions must be created, of a kind which the soldier is likely to encounter in combat.

How can we achieve such combat realism?

Combat realism presupposes intensive ideological efforts in preparation for it. It is always mandatory to eliminate all signs of an "exercise" spirit as soon as they manifest themselves, and to motivate the participants for the forthcoming training. This requires the unit commanders to conduct combat training in exactly the same manner as they would actual combat. Combat realism starts in the assembly area. Here for example the first measures for combat security can be taken. This provides at the same time a quick transition from the everyday work situation to service in the unit. The training to follow should be conducted in a goal-directed manner. It is determined essentially by specific action to be taken in a possible combat deployment in a specific action to be taken in a possible combat deployment in a specific terrain, of which we know ahead of time such features as vegetation, buildings, etc. By making optimum use of the features of the training area, we are able to practice possible alternatives in the possible types of combat deployment in accordance with the training subject and thus to provide task orientation.

During the 1984 training year, defensive action is featured in tactical training. This type of action demands agility and initiative from the combatants also. This subject offers many opportunities for simulating combat conditions; particular attention must be paid here to a tight organization and constant direction of the fire system.

It is therefore necessary to ensure that the soldiers are exposed to physical and psychological stresses which approximate those of actual combat. This can be achieved by engineered construction of the defense system, by providing ammunition and food during the action, by rescuing wounded personnel and by action while wearing protective equipment. The use of telephone communications increases complexity. The tasks must be constantly increasing in difficulty. But this must not happen too quickly, so the trainees do not lose sight of the overall picture. They must acquire experience in overcoming such stresses for the purpose of being able to confront new and unexpected situations with steadfastness, never to panic in any situation, to adapt to the situation and come to terms with it. Combat realism does not mean the indiscriminate use of simulation devices. Rather, what is important is tactically correct thinking, acting and behavior. This requires the commander to constantly supervise unit commanders in the way they conduct the total training process. He determines its content and progress and coordinates the actions of the units under his command. The extent of combat realism is of course different during combat drills than it is during the tactical exercise. In the former, individual actions are repeated and practiced, while in the latter there is dynamic continuity. However, during combat drills we must make certain that practice takes place under changing conditions, so that the same task keeps appearing under varying aspects. Thus for instance the establishment of a standard is

realistic only if it takes place while the action is in progress and without the knowledge of the trainee.

A realistic representation of the enemy is of considerable benefit to appropriate action by the units also. Care must always be taken that even in the preparatory phase realistic information is provided about the most likely enemy to be encountered, depending upon the type of unit involved. The units must be prepared for confrontation with their enemy. Enemy simulation in the field must be adequate for this purpose. All this requires thorough planning, organization and maintenance.

9273

CSO: 2300/294

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ARMED FORCES ACADEMY HEAD ON MILITARY CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Frankfurt/Oder NEUER TAG in German 4 Jan 84 p 4

[Major Bernd Schilling interview with Lt Gen Prof Hans Wiesner, head, 'Friedrich Engels' Military Academy on the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the highest military educational institution of the GDR on 5 Jan 84 in Dresden: "The Honorary Name Is a Symbol and Great Obligation"]

[Text] [Question] How has the GDR's highest military educational institution complied with its class mission, which is symbolized by its honorary name "Friedrich Engels," since its inauguration on 5 January 1959?

[Answer] The honorary name "Friedrich Engels" is for our military academy a symbol and, at the same time, an exact description of its political-ideological and military theory standpoint and determines its functioning as the highest military educational institution of the GDR. We consider it an obligation to always prove ourselves worthy of the first military theoretician of the working class and to do our utmost to fulfill the class mission given us by the Tenth SED Party Conference.

The development of our military academy has been such a great success because guidance by the party has been an inexhaustible source of strength for the high quality and effectiveness of education, training and research, and remains so. Thus, entirely in the spirit of Friedrich Engels' legacy, our graduates have been trained as the military cadre of the working class to comply unconditionally with all party tasks and orders; to be willing and able to do justice to present and future requirements as patriots and internationalists on a scientific basis. In compliance with orders by the Seventh Conference of the SED's Central Committee, we are making new efforts in education, training and research and are thus contributing to the preparation for the 35th anniversary of our socialist homeland.

[Question] How does the military academy do justice to its role as the central teaching and research institution?

[Answer] Since its beginning, our military academy has, in rigorous implementation of the party's science and higher education policy, made great efforts to fulfill the proven principles of the unity of teaching and research, of education and training, and of theory and practice.

The most recent insights by the fraternal armies, especially by the Soviet armed forces, and textbooks written by authors of the military academy and from the civilian sector, form a secure basis for the theoretical depth of initial and continued education and for individual scientific research by officer students. Conferences of the departments and faculties, colloquia with representatives of the military commands of army and navy, competitions in scientific achievements influence scientific activity just as much as does the officer students' work in their respective groups. One can no longer imagine scientific journals and publication programs, especially military publications, without articles contributed by military academy authors. Doctoral theses and dissertations contribute increasingly to the solution of current and impending problems in military theory and practice and are increasingly useful in arriving at command decisions.

[Question] Who can enroll in the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy and what would be his educational objective?

[Answer] Student officers at the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy must, first, have graduated from an institution of higher education; secondly, they must thereafter have successfully served for several years in the land or naval forces. They have therefore already proven themselves in the practice of military life and in leading men in the fulfillment of their class mission. While during those years they had served in assignments up to battalion level, they are now preparing at the military academy for tasks in the intermediate leadership echelon, so as to gain a wider perspective for serving as commanders, as political and party cadre, as staff officers, in educational or other scientific institutions, or as technical engineering cadres.

[Question] How have brothers-in-arms relationships evolved during the past 25 years with the military academies of the socialist fraternal armies?

[Answer] In its overall activity, the military academy holds the tenet that the National People's Army fulfills its mission within the framework of the socialist defense coalition. The brothers-in-arms relationships evolve accordingly; today they link us with 14 military academies of the USSR armed forces and with the military academies of all armies which are fraternally joined in the Warsaw Pact. A large portion of our faculty has been educated at those academies. Today, joint working procedures extend all the way from exchanges of experiences and literature, to mutual participation in scientific events and the rendering of expert opinions, and to jointly conducted cooperative research projects.

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CSO: 2300/295

ANALYSIS PROVIDED ON HEALTH OF POPULATION

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 24 No 5, Oct 83 (signed to press 25 May 83) pp 210-211

/Article by Col (Reserve) Prof Dr G. Ewert, MD: "Developing Trends in the Health Status of the GDR Population"/

/Text/ Introduction

Posing the Problem

The health service and the social system provide their specific contribution to the further evolution of the characteristic features of the developed socialist society by the planned perfection of public health protection, the application of the advances of medical science for the good of the citizens as well as the improvement in the quality and efficiency of medical and social care. High in the order of priority within the structure of individual and social needs are the health, functional capacity and zest of the people.

Upon the creation of a material-technical base facilitating stable economic growth, the greatest possible labor productivity and efficiency of social labor, society obtains the resources to contribute at a steadily higher standard to the humanistic concern for the promotion, preservation and restoration of health.

To be able responsibly to use the available resources in this spirit, the most accurate possible knowledge of the public's health status has been proven indispensable.

Objective

It is my objective to demonstrate the most important trends of the earlier development of public health in the GDR and to link them with some prognostic reflections and statements.

Material and Methodology

Serving as the basic material were the available statistical data in conjunction with morbidity, illnesses and disability. These may be considered an adequate basis for some indirect assessment of the health status. Inadequacies of some



statistics and the lack of relevant information (as, for example, on ambulant morbidity) limit any general statement but should not be overestimated, because the problem of measuring and appraising the health status of entire populations will long remain the object of international research due to its inherent complexity. The interpretation of the basic health statistics was based on the hypothesis that the health standard as a whole and with respect to selected aspects is established by many political, demographic, economic, social, medical and other factors, while complex influences by variously weighted dimensions may be considered certainties to a large extent.

The analysis was carried out by categories of diseases, demographic and economic aspects and took into account the connection between health status and age. The following is an attempt point by point to provide a summarizing assessment of health trends in the past decade.

#### Selected Results Regarding the Health Situation

Consequent upon the resolute implementation of the national vaccination program, we may note the far reaching prevention of infectious diseases subject to control by preventive vaccination. Smallpox, poliomyelitis and tetanus in children and adolescents were totally prevented. Stagnating or rising figures for newly acquired infectious and parasite-borne diseases indicate not only improved notification discipline but also existing gaps in vaccination prophylaxis (mumps, viral hepatitis), reserves in the enforcement of the necessary hygiene--including education in hygienic behavior (gastrointestinal and respiratory infections), changes in the use of medical care (diarrhea, acute respiratory diseases) as well as changes in social behavior and the attitude to the significance of certain diseases (gonorrhea, syphilis, nosocomial infections).

Approximately 60,000 people suffered from carcinoma in the 1970's. Following standardization by age, we note a slight rise in incidence by comparison with the preceding decade. This is probably explicable by more comprehensive diagnosis, to a lesser extent also by some progress in early diagnosis (of cervical cancer, for instance).

Diabetes mellitus has continued the predominant disease in the category of endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases. The figures for existing incidence and frequency of new patients continue to display a rising trend. Numbers have grown to far in excess of 500,000 cases. This means that more than 3 percent of the population suffer from diabetes.

Regarding diseases of the cardiovascular system, we note that more than 200,000 cases were hospitalized in the average of each year. Even in the mid-1970's, every second death was diagnosed as due to this category. Standardized morbidity figures show a slight increase for men, a definite decline for women.

Among the adult population we must assume hypertension to be present in 15 percent. This situation needs particularly to be watched in view of the link with infarction and strokes.

The incidence of coronary infarction did not diminish in the 1970's. The pre-hospitalization state demonstrates little progress, because the interval between the occurrence of the first symptoms and hospital admission has been only minimally cut.

Due to intensive care and therapy, drugs and electrotherapeutic control of arrhythmia and early mobilization, hospital treatment has tended to lower the mortality rate from 35 percent to 30 percent.

Independent of the above, the mortality rate for acute coronary infarction (including so-called sudden coronary death) continues to hover around 50 percent.

Also to be taken very seriously is the accident situation. Both the incidence and frequency of hospital treatment have risen since 1974. Statistics show more than 3.5 million patient treatment days per annum. This means that every day almost 10,000 beds are occupied for the necessary treatment of accident injuries. Fortunately the figures for accidents at work are on the decline, but traffic accidents have continued to rise. Though car registrations increased each year, we do note a slight drop in the statistics of persons injured and killed in road accidents. Still, among men car accidents still accounted for about 40 percent of accidental deaths, while the proportion for women was below 20 percent.

The mortality rate due to fractures and intracranial injuries has increased since 1970.

At the end of the 1970's, about 10,000 died as the result of accidents; there is a distinctive difference in terms of age and sex. Among men this mortality largely involves the 15-25 age group, among women those above 65.

In the course of the past 30 years mortality--in terms of standardized figures--has steadily decreased among women while slightly increasing among men.

The trend of age specific mortality figures shows a decline among men up to the 45-54 age bracket, among women up to the 75-84 age group. This trend is most evident among the younger age groups and more so among women generally than among men.

The sex specific mortality situation presents a particular problem. For the past 100 years female mortality figures have dropped in all age groups. However, due to the perils of gestation, the female mortality rate was still above the male rate before 1930. By 1933 the male mortality rate was 14 percent above that of women. Since then the ratio has steadily worsened for the males.

In 1974 the standardized mortality figures for men were 47 percent higher than those for women. The difference thus tripled in 30 years. Many attempts have been made to explain the higher mortality rate for men, none of them entirely convincing.

Infant mortality began to drop sharply in the 1960's and continued to do so in the past decade. The steepest declines were recorded for specific causes of infant death, ascertained by comparing figures for years that were 10 years apart (1965-1974), in particular infectious diseases, diseases of the respiratory system, perinatal morbidity and mortality. We were not able to reduce the incidence of accidents.

The satisfactory development of maternal mortality is explained by the almost total elimination of illegal abortions after enactment of the law on the interruption of pregnancy of 9 March 1972.

Since the GDR was established, the average life expectancy for men has risen from 64 years to 69 years and for women from 68 years to 75 years.

#### Summarizing Appraisal of Trends

In general the health status of the GDR population continued to stabilize and improve in the past decade. Our evidence is

- The increase in average life expectancy;
- The steady decline in general mortality, infant and maternal mortality;
- The decline in the frequency of new infections of a serious type (tuberculosis, whooping cough, diphtheria, tetanus);
- The maintenance of earlier successes (poliomyelitis);
- The lack of indications of a trend toward an increase in the risk of individuals contracting diseases involving new malignancies, endogenous psychoses, cardiovascular diseases, respiratory diseases, genetic abnormalities;
- The shift to older age groups of the beginning of sickness, disability and mortality;
- The improved diagnosis of curable stages of carcinoma (bronchial and colon cancer).

We may therefore claim that the trend of the GDR population's health with respect to advances in status has kept pace with comparable European countries in the 1970's, too, despite considerable adverse effects due to the long-range consequences of the war. This result is unanimously agreed to be the

- Consequence of general social progress, especially in the field of social policy;
- Reflection of the increasing care capacities;
- Result of the greater use of the health service by the public, as well as the
- Proof of efficient operations of the health protection service, backed by society as a whole.

#### Outlook

The following issues will be the focus of interest for the resolute improvement of the standard of health:

## Development Age

A serious problem is represented by the greater frequency of respiratory infections, especially in infancy, and the associated loss of working hours by guardians or attendance days missed in children's facilities.

The reduction of the frequency of the contraction of infectious and parasite-related diseases requires intensive efforts to improve preventive immunization (measles, mumps) and the enforcement of scientifically tested standards of hygiene in children's facilities.

The incidence of prenatal defects is dropping (as the result, for example, of efficient genetic counseling), while their prevalence is slightly on the increase (due to improved care). It is assumed that the individual risk of acquiring such defects will remain largely unchanged. The rate of new defectives is therefore decided mainly by demographic trends.

As the result of improved diagnosis and care, the numbers of children and juveniles to be treated for chronic diseases (of, for example, the respiratory system, the lungs, the central nervous system and the kidneys) will probably increase somewhat, although the rate of new contraction is likely to be largely unchanged. On the increase at the same time will be the proportion of young people who grow to physiological age.

The consequences of accidents will proportionately gain significance with regard to morbidity. Despite generally favorable mortality trends, accident prevention should get more attention. The challenges to medical and social care for physically and mentally handicapped people will grow considerably, due to more comprehensive ascertainment, long-term care needs and the change in attitude occurring in the perception of the obligation to family care.

## Physiological Age

The trend to improved health standards will continue together with a rising demand for care if we succeed

- In further shifting the onset of chronic diseases to older age groups,
- In guaranteeing the medical and social care required for physically and mentally handicapped people even at their physiological age and continuing from the development age, and
- In lowering accident morbidity and mortality.

The health situation in the physiological age will generally be characterized by the progressive reduction of morbidity due to infectious diseases, the increase in handicapped persons coupled with growing demands on medical rehabilitation and social integration as well as the rising morbidity of chronic diseases with advancing age.

## Older Age

Due to the well-known demographic situation, morbidity and mortality generally will continue to be determined by the 60 plus age group; Forecasting the state of health of this age group is extremely difficult, due to multimorbidity. From the 60th year on, irreversible conditions increasingly predominate; at best their progress may be halted.

This results in demands on the health service, characterized by a significant rise in the need for care and nursing.

With advancing age and disregarding morbidity (cardiovascular diseases, neoplasms, metabolic and rheumatic diseases), health problems are generally overshadowed by social care needs. The future trends of morbidity may primarily be determined by the growing gap between the time the patient is taken ill and his/her death, leading to ongoing increases in the incidence of chronic diseases. In close connection with chronic morbidity and the aging process, accidents and infectious diseases (pneumonia, influenza) will continue to play an important role.

In general we may expect the decisive impetus for the further improvement of the health situation to continue dependent on the stable growth of society's socio-economic base.

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TRENDS IN HEALTH STATUS OF YOUNG MEN DISCUSSED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 24 No 5, Oct 83 (signed to press 25 May 83) pp 250-251

/Article by Col (Reserve) Prof Dr G. Jaeschke, senior medical officer: "Developmental Trends in the Health Status of Young Men"/

/Text/ This paper deals with the question whether the health status of young men entering conscription age has or has not improved in the past 20 years.

Our information comes from induction records. We need to properly classify the limits and potentials of this investigative procedure and not harbor expectations that are unrealizable from the methodological aspect. We must also take into account the fact that individual diagnoses are lost in the combination as the fitness and suitability order (TEO) figure and cannot be recovered after the event, and that in these 20 years the definition of various TEO figures has been changed several times. Every change in definition--as documented by various papers--directly results in a change in the respective frequency figures.

Upon critical appraisal of the results of general medical examinations in the process of induction to the armed services since conscription was introduced in the GDR in 1962, we note the following developmental trends in the health status of young men of around 18:

1. The frequency of physical defects and inadequacies as a whole has noticeably declined. This conclusion derives from a decrease in frequency of the large majority of headings, a rise for a few diagnoses and the constancy of such defective conditions as even now are hardly treatable, but also of definitely exogenous injuries such as the consequences of accidental injuries to the head, the long bones and the major joints.
2. An evident decline (by more than half the initial values) is recorded for the consequent conditions of inflammatory coronary diseases. This is due to the decrease in the incidence of acute rheumatic fever since the introduction of long-term therapy and the consistent clean-up of foci.

Even more obvious is the drop in "other coronary diseases," arising in this age group largely from arrhythmia. On the other hand figures have remained approximately static for cases of hypertension and hypertonia, following a drop caused by the use of more accurate diagnostic criteria.

3. A declining trend is also evident for chronic-inflammatory diseases of the middle ear and residual afflictions--including all types of hearing impairment. Here also the main cause is likely to be better and earlier diagnosis and the increase in therapeutic potential. The same applies to chronic affections of palatine tonsils.
4. Almost disappeared among infectious diseases have tuberculosis and infectious hepatitis, consequent conditions of which were still found present to a significant extent at induction examinations in the early and middle 1960's.
5. Diminished incidence is also recorded for damage to the inner knee (especially meniscus lesions) and damage to the ligaments of the major joints, chronic diseases of the stomach and duodenum as well--and quite impressively so--hernias. We should probably interpret this as evidence that citizens now are more aware of and have far better opportunities for making use of the benefits of early treatment of health impairments.
6. A definite increase was noted for curvatures of the spine at all degrees of severity. We have had several similar reports from the clinical-orthopedic aspect, though the results of examinations by the youth health service do not confirm this tendency. It was not possible to trace an unambiguous cause--future observations will have to show us whether we are merely confronting the results of differences in reporting.

Moderate rises were also registered for diseases of the nose and chronic bronchitis.

7. In the past passionate discussions arose about the temporary increase or waves with regard to the incidence of mental retardation and epilepsy. If we assume that genetic affections of this type are unlikely to show a change in epidemic level in the course of just a few years, the increase in such disorders would have to be ascribed to acquired cerebral injuries, and it would therefore have to be possible to find a clue for the increase in the morbidity statistics. To be considered among the most significant clues are inflammatory diseases of the cerebellum and meninges, cerebral injuries in infancy and severe cranial trauma. However, none of these show an increase. In the meantime medical literature has--and in great detail--discredited the claim that the steady lowering of infant mortality has the effect of keeping more defective children alive (Fuchs).

Of course no one disputes the fact that the advances of child and adolescent psychiatry in the past 25 years resulted in the better diagnosis and treatment of children with neurological-psychiatric illnesses. Consequently this problem, too, must be considered a matter of diagnosis.

8. Some physical defects and inadequacies demonstrate special features involving regional distribution. The typical example is the goiter caused by lack of iodine. Its incidence from the central mountain districts to the plains districts close to the Baltic amounts to one twentieth of the median GDR dimensions that have remained fairly constant across the years. Changes in visual acuity, primarily anomalies of refraction, and hearing impairments due to noise are found more frequently in large cities than in the regions. It remains to be seen

whether future investigations will reveals this also to be due to better diagnostic opportunities.

9. The average height of the young men examined has risen by more than 2 cm. Though this fact is only indirectly relevant to the issue raised, it does complement the other findings.

Despite the caution needed regarding the interpretation of the above results, we do recognize a definite trend toward the improvement of the health status of young men. This evolution is certainly and largely affected by the many measures adopted by the health service for the prevention, early diagnosis and treatment of health disorders as well as by other social sectors involved in the promotion of health.

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CSO: 2300/289



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AUTHOR CHRISTA WOLF NOTES OFFICIAL ARROGANCE

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 25, 14 Feb 84 "Culture" Supplement p 1

[Text] The author Christa Wolf, who repeatedly in the past has been personally attacked in the GDR, and had been involved in clashes with the cultural bureaucracy, wants, as she said in a conversation, "simply to write now." Her lifespan is not limitless, said the 54 year old author, "and I can no longer wear myself out with fruitless wrangling." Asked how she was dealing with criticism and conflicts, she replied that from her point of view there had, in the GDR, "for years been arrogant criticism and theory opposing writers and their works." But, she said, it was one thing to be aware of it and quite a different thing "to deal with severe personal reproaches." In her case, Christa Wolf said, "that led to my writing one of another book less." And to "my reflecting upon what I really want to and must do."

Christa Wolf is among the most successful GDR authors. In the course of time, more than a million copies of her books have appeared: "Pattern for a Childhood" alone is currently in its ninth printing. The author's books have been translated into 20 languages, and have appeared in many Western countries, e.g. in the FRG, the United States, in Japan, France, Italy and the Scandinavian countries. Her latest book, "Cassandra," (four lectures and a narrative) having some time ago appeared in the FRG, has now entered the GDR book trade.

CSO: 2300/304

DEMSZKY DISCUSSES DISSIDENCE OVER REGIME POLICIES

Stockholm GNISTAN in Swedish 12 Jan 84 p 6

[Report on interview with Gabor Demszky, dissident writer and editor of the AB Press samizdat publications and contributor to samizdat publication BESZELO, by Thomas Kanger, in Budapest; date not specified]

[Text] On Saturday 24 September, Gabor Demszky, a prominent member of the democratic opposition in Hungary, was stopped by traffic police. Demszky's car was searched, and one item seized by the police was a private letter.

When Gabor Demszky protested that confiscation, he was beaten to the ground with nightsticks. Now Demszky is in danger of being given a 3-year prison sentence for attacking the policemen!

He sums it up by saying: "The situation for the dissidents has deteriorated rapidly."

In recent years, Hungary has had a reputation as the most "liberal" country in East Europe. The democratic opposition has enjoyed more elbow room here than in the other Eastern countries, excluding the "Solidarity period." In Budapest, the well-known dissident Laszlo Rajk, son of the foreign minister of the same name who was executed in 1949, was able, among other things, to open East Europe's only public bookstore for underground literature in his apartment.

Higher Level of Tolerance

The level of tolerance toward critical views in the official party-controlled press has also been higher in Hungary than elsewhere in the Eastern bloc. That relative political freedom has often been linked to the fact that Hungary's economy has been reformed in the direction of a market economy and is no longer under complete central control, as well as to Hungary's need for close economic contacts with the West. But recent developments have shown that there is no automatic connection between economic liberalism and political liberalism.

The reformed economy is holding steady and being strengthened, whereas political pressure has become considerably tighter. The violent police attack on Gabor Demszky was only one of many alarming signs.

I met with Gabor Demszky in Laszlo Rajk's apartment, where he is living temporarily. Rajk himself is in France. One long wall in the living room was covered with books, as is always the case in the home of a member of the East European opposition. They are readers. Besides, of course, this had once been a bookstore.

#### Andropov Took Over

Gabor Demszky said: "The opposition's activity increased rapidly beginning at the end of the 1970's. In the summer of 1982, we were publishing a new book title every week, and we had between 20,000 and 30,000 readers for our periodicals. We finally believed that the regime would probably not bother us. But that illusion was soon knocked out of us."

The turning point came in December 1982, at the same time that Andropov took over the helm in the Kremlin after Brezhnev died. The first thing that happened was that the regime found a technical reason to force Laszlo Rajk to leave his apartment in the center of Budapest. He had to move up into the hills on the Buda side of town, far away from the main streets. That made the bookstore harder to get to. It soon turned out that his "banishment" was only a first step toward putting an end to the bookstore's activities altogether.

"The police would stand outside the new apartment every Tuesday evening, which was precisely when the bookstore was open. Everyone who had been in here was stopped and searched as he left. If he had bought any books, he was arrested. It finally reached the point that very few people dared to come here, and we were forced to close the bookstore in April 1983. Now the books are sold from hand to hand."

#### Beaten

The harassment continued. Cars and homes were searched, and dissidents were taken in for interrogation. In July, the authorities pounced on the unofficial peace movement known as the Dialogue Group, which was trying to achieve cooperation with the government peace organization and obtain recognition as a legal organization. And in September, Gabor Demszky was beaten up. He fainted and was taken to a hospital, where a brain concussion was discovered. To top it all off, preparations are now underway to bring him to trial for assaulting the police. The result may be a 3-year prison sentence.

"The action against the Dialogue Group took place 3 days before party leader Janos Kadar was to make his first official visit to Yuriy Andropov, and that clearly shows the connection between the tougher attitude toward us and the power shift in the Kremlin. But on the other hand, it is a fact that the Hungarian regime itself has never accepted us. We have grown too strong, and the regime wants to reduce us to a subculture again."

Gabor Demszky says that if the present trend is not halted, he will spend 3 years in prison. But here as in all other East European countries, harassment and imprisonment are something that opposition groups always expect. It makes activities more difficult, but there is naturally no thought of giving up.

Gabor Demszky says: "The most important thing now is to build up our publishing activity. Personally, for example, I publish the periodical A HIRMONDO, which specializes in East Europe's dissident and peace movements as well as the problems surrounding the Hungarian minorities in Romania and Czechoslovakia. We know from experience that the underground press is of great importance. Not only so that the truth can be told, but also in order to open up the official press. Since the regime knows that authors and writers will come to us if they are turned down by the government press and publishing houses--something that the regime naturally disapproves of--many critical voices are allowed to be heard."

#### "Reform Is Theater"

One example of this is the criticism of the administrative reform recently adopted in Hungary. One feature of the reform is that two candidates will be allowed to run for each office in general elections.

"That part of the reform is nothing but theater, since both candidates are forced to support the national front's program. Criticism of the reform is allowed in the official press. Among other things, it is being said that democracy cannot come from above."

Demszky's thesis that activity by the opposition increases the general scope for expressing critical views in public seems to find reverse corroboration in the fact that the regime is now tightening the screws on the official press while cracking down on the opposition at the same time. Among other things, the editor in chief of the avant-garde journal MOZGO VILAG has been replaced with a view to bringing that journal's editorial policy into line.

#### "Broad Movement"

The democratic opposition's aim is to establish a constitutional, democratic state within the framework of the Warsaw Pact.

"We are a politically broad democratic movement that talks about many problems in Hungarian society, and we have different views on how they should be solved. But there are two things we never discuss: one is the party's leading role in society, and the other is our relationship with the Warsaw Pact. Those in the opposition accept the fact that we are forced to live under the existing conditions as far as those two things are concerned.

"Personally, however, I feel that the party's leading role should be discussed, partly because the provisions in the Constitution on that subject are vague. For example, what is the party supposed to decide, and what is Parliament supposed to decide? And should not the courts be separated from the party to a much greater degree than they are?"

The extent to which the democratic opposition in Hungary will be able to discuss those and other questions at all now depends on whether the regime succeeds in its intention to force the dissident movement back down to the level

of an insignificant and marginal phenomenon in Hungarian society or even to crush it. Demszky's trial, for which preparations are now being made, will be a test of strength for both sides. Gabor Demszky is therefore anxious to get the support of international public opinion so that the trial can be stopped.

Gabor Demszky says: "Because of the regime's extensive economic contacts with the West, it is tremendously sensitive to international public opinion."



"The party's leading role and the Warsaw Pact are two questions the opposition never discusses," says Gabor Demszky in Budapest.

11798  
CSO: 3650/107

## HUNGARY

### TASKS OF BUDAPEST WORKERS GUARD UNITS DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jan 84 p 3

/Interview with Gyozo Kelemen, commander of the workers guards of Budapest by reporter, Gyorgy Mate: "Our Units Facing New Tasks"<sup>7</sup>

[Text] During the past few weeks, the workers guard units of Budapest evaluated their work during last year and defined their tasks for this year. They prepared with great care for the meetings. Earlier, the sub-units had discussed their own activities and made suggestions toward improving the work further, how they will solve this year the training tasks facing them. Also on the basis of experiences at the unit meetings, the Budapest command could form a realistic picture about the moral and political condition of the Budapest workers guard ranks, the level of their training and the state of their discipline. We questioned Gyozo Kelemen, commander of the Budapest workers guard units, about these experiences.

#### Public Figures

/Answer<sup>7</sup> An evaluation of the work is made easier because our command has lived alongside the units throughout the year and has also gained direct experiences everywhere. We also received much guidance and help at the basic organizational reporting meetings of members where the activities of the individual worker guards were evaluated. Also taking into account the observations made by the national command about the workers guard units, the Budapest Party Executive Committee surveyed the activities of our command and of the units belonging to us, the principal phenomena characterizing the past period. Among others, the Party Executive Committee concluded that the active participation of workers guard units in the realization of the party's policies is continuous, and their dedication, willingness to act and political stance is consistent.

Their exemplary behavior at the workplace, their activities in public life, their service and training activities are commendable. A large majority of them are members of our party and are doing physical labor. Many scientists and managers also embark on the armed service to society. To mention only a few: this includes

Attila Madarasi, undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance; Istvan Harskuti, professor of the Technological University of Budapest; Istvan Balogh, director of the Northern Vehicle Repair; Mrs Ivan Lelkes, ministerial chief counsellor; Dr Josef Frank, university professor; Endre Faludi, executive director of the Animal Trade and Meat Industrial Trust; Karoly Losonczi, deputy executive director of Caola; Bela Batyi, technical director of the Lang Machine Factory and many others. I hear the opinion from increasingly many places that today it is more difficult to recruit for social work than a few years ago. They say that, since the living conditions of certain levels of society have become more difficult and that the absence from production work is occasionally accompanied by financial losses, a large part of the people search for paid occupations during their free time. Such phenomena are also occurring among the worker guards in Budapest. Nevertheless, it is characteristic that the workers guard units perform their social tasks with the same conscientiousness today as did the founders, and a replacement of the discharged guards presents no problems.

#### Training and Production

/Question Would this mean that the worker guards are unaffected by the more difficult economic situation, and the social and political phenomena appearing in its wake?

/Answer Not at all. The worker guard who accepted voluntary armed service is taking part in training, he is striving to maintain the standard of living for himself and his family just like everyone else. One sign of the healthy development of worker guards is that, as a body, they react sharply to the changes within the Hungarian society. Should it be otherwise, it would mean to us that we are making a mistake, that we are distancing ourselves from reality. Fortunately, no such danger exists. It is natural that, in addition to the overtime possibilities, many worker guards also use the enterprisal economic cooperatives, weekend jobs or the private enterprises to raise their income. We take this process into consideration and our commanders also take this situation into account in setting up training plans and in making use of the effective force.

Everyday life experiences show that the majority of them are capable of apportioning their time. In addition to the compulsory daily work period, they also care for their families, engage in cultural activities, study, engage in recreation and even perform production tasks in the work cooperatives. There are hundreds of worker guards who show by their own example that all of this is possible. Just a few examples: Janos Szlovak is the state-award winning locksmith of the Lang Machine Factory; serving in the XIIIth district unit, Endre Szabo, Jozsef Salamon, Karoly Toth, Imre Szabo and Jozsef Majer are esteemed members of the factory collective and of the workers guard unit also as inventors and innovators.

The many types of activities undoubtedly require great self control and organizing ability. Times are also frequently in conflict. But it is confirmed precisely by the comments heard at the meeting of sub-units that those signing up as worker guards are aware of the difficulties and also overcome them. The commanders can also help them by decreasing unnecessary administrative tasks and by calling on worker guards at times outside of the regular schedule as rarely as possible. In the case of overburdened members of our organization, we make efforts to free them from other social work activities. Being a workers guard is a totally worthy means of social work and therefore it is justified that those accepting it should not be burdened by other social tasks if possible.

/Question/ Please talk about the status of the Budapest command. In what way did it advance during the past years?

/Answer/ It is known that the workers guard units consist of members who accept service voluntarily and without compensation. In our units, self awareness and a strong sense of comradeship are the foremost sources of discipline. Our command staff is undergoing planned professional and political training at the School for Workers Guard Commander Training and at postgraduate sessions. We also strive to raise a few from among the younger worker guards who will once be able to replace the old commanders. Our new type of training methods also serve this goal.

#### Condensed Training

/Question/ What is the essence of the new methods?

/Answer/ Condensed training means that the material of the year-long training is acquired at a concentrated training session of the worker guards over several days. Such--successful-- type of training was organized by the XIXth district unit in Tahí, by the Csepel Works in Csobanka, by the XIth district unit and a specialized unit in Soltvadkert. This form of training perceptibly increases the sense of responsibility of the commanders and the quality demands they place upon themselves. Thus the training sessions are better organized and they are conducted with a more thoughtful concentration on the tasks, forces and materials. At sub-unit meetings, there was sharp criticism on the part of worker guards concerning the dry runs, the activities without content and without preparation they experienced during the year and they took a stand in favor of more disciplined procedures. If there is good preparatory work, if the commander is equal to his task, this is also reflected in the activity of the unit. In the interest of concentrated training, we are continuing the buildup of the firing range in Piliscsaba into a base camp for training. To achieve this, we count on a significant social support from the districts. A large part of the work will be done by us.



/Question/ In addition to the points discussed, what other tasks await the Workers Guard Units of Budapest?

/Answer/ Our duties continue to be defined by the XIIth Party Congress resolution and by the guidelines of the national command. They are also influenced by the tense international situation. The latter urges us to increase, within our own area, the fighting readiness and the strike capability of the organization, and its cooperation with associated armed organizations. Starting with the premise that an honestly and well accomplished job is the most patriotic and most revolutionary act today, the principal requirement from the worker guards is that they accept their responsibility for productive work.

In cooperation with the party organizations, we pay increased attention to the training of the membership, its political strength and its faithfulness to proletarian internationalism. If we serve this goal well, we can stand proudly in front of the approaching XIIIth Party Congress. By supplying the workers guard units, we continue to provide for an important task. This twofold goal is served by the discussions among comrades--carried out with every single worker guard by the unit commands--about his personal life and the fulfillment of his party assignment. In addition, we strive to insure the material, technical, financial, hygienic and placement requirements for accomplishing the tasks within the financial conditions--concluded Gyozo Kelemen.

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CSO: 2500/199

WARSAW DAILY EVALUATES REAGAN'S ADDRESS

LD301509 Warsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 30 Jan 84

["Old Policy, New Wrapping"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Jan--Commenting on Ronald Reagan's latest State of the Union message, the Polish daily RZECZPOSPOLITA said: "Basically, it lacks essentially new elements."

"The policy of deterrence, which has already become a classic formula, cannot be taken as new, since the message says that the United States and the Soviet Union should conduct such a policy that nuclear arms would not have to be used. Parallely, the United States is carrying out the deployment of Euromissiles and is starting the development on new-generation space weapons."

"Also Reagan's reference to the known thesis that the nuclear war cannot be won and so its outbreak must be prevented is only an attempt at taking part of the votes from Democratic Party politicians. It has not been forgotten, as the American President seems to think, that not long ago his administration was launching the thesis about the possibility of winning a 'limited nuclear war.'"

"Reagan has made the assurance that he would undertake all efforts to create a more stable groundwork for peaceful relations with the USSR. He is telling this as if nothing has happened [words indistinct] is just him who has been striving for peace over the past 3 years," said RZECZPOSPOLITA.

"And yet with his moves, the President has produced world tension unknown in several years, has brought the threat of nuclear apocalypse closer. He wants to bring about the violation of the equilibrium in the world. His policy runs counter to norms of international law and bilateral accords.

"Perhaps, this change in tone" noticeable in the State of the Union message "will give him a certain number of votes of the undecided U.S. citizens in the November elections. But it will not deceive the international public opinion which has known for long the empty [?words of] the statements made by this American President, his complete diversion from reality, his contemptuous treatment of other nations," stressed the paper.

CSO: 2020/70

GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE VIEWS YOUTH PROBLEMS

AU071410 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 30 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] PAP--The state of the young generation's sociopolitical awareness and the practical conclusions resulting from this state for the task of fostering young people's civic attitudes were the subjects of the 27 January Warsaw session of the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs. The discussion lasted several hours.

The session was chaired by Vice Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, who announced that four pupils from the general secondary schools in Warsaw had been invited to attend the session side by side with committee members, experts, and scientists.

Discussing the results of the most recent research into young people's sociopolitical awareness, the session stressed that for obvious reasons the post-1980 events in Poland had made a special impression on the young people's psychology, which, of course, continues to affect their evaluations, views, and moods. Numerous studies have reaffirmed that young people accept socialist ideals, but that they are critical of irregularities and difficulties. It is possible to formulate a cautious more general view, based on the results of research and polls, that the individual communities of Polish young people are enmeshed in contradictory political and moral judgments, but that they continue to slowly realize the need to overcome apathy and inertia.

The session stressed the need for a more profound knowledge of the differences in young people's sociopolitical awareness in various communities and on various issues. The point is to ensure that the educational decisions and activities based on the results of research are differentiated. Nor is it possible to restrict the knowledge of the state of that awareness exclusively to empirical research, because such research produces incomplete and shallow truths.

It would also be necessary to fathom more thoroughly the reasons for and determining factors of the stormy and spontaneous development of Polish rock music. This is a phenomenon whose social and sociological background must not be ignored.

The session noted that young people respond to the facts and not to slogans, to reality and not to wishful thinking, and to practical activities and not to programs--not even to the best ones. In this connection the session agreed that results of research must be unconditionally incorporated in decisions. The session also noted that the purpose of the activities aimed at deepening the knowledge of the young Poles' awareness should be to search for the means to counter the still widespread consumerist attitudes expressed by "give it to me."

The session noted that many simplifications, myths, falsifications, and "blank spots" characterized the issue of young people's historical awareness. Some educators are to blame for this, and not only hostile political forces, centers of subversion, and so on. A statement was also made that young people must realize that they are to some extent responsible for the crisis, that they are not just a victim of it. After all, 46 percent of the labor force in the socialized economy are workers below 30. We should also realize how poor labor productivity, production quality, economic management, and discipline are and how widespread absenteeism is.

Generally speaking, the session noted, the phenomena and attitudes observed among the young Poles correspond--regardless of the determining factors that are specifically ours--to the phenomena asserting themselves among young generations in other countries.

M. Rakowski also took the floor, agreeing with most of the evaluations and views expressed at the session. He added that when examining the problems of our young people's awareness and attitudes, we should bear in mind a broader perspective of history and that which results from Poland's present experience of profound social, political, and economic changes. We are still doing too little to diversify the means with which to overcome the "crisis philosophy" that is still dominating young people. M. Rakowski fully agreed with the remarks made during the session by one of the invited pupils that young people count above all on daily, genuine, and direct contacts with those who are in charge of various bodies of power. We will create the conditions for that, M. Rakowski said.

The session detailed the program for the committee's work in the first 6 months of 1984.

CSO: 2600/667

OFFICIALS VIEW PZPR'S DECLINING AUTHORITY

PM091641 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 2 Feb 84 p 5

[Dispatch by Peter Michielsen: "The Party in Poland: Farewell to Power"]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb [no date]--The party spokesman, a member of the Central Committee, is a robust jovial man of around 55 in a smart blue suit. A dynamic type: He talks like a tank, with authority, and is unwilling to allow himself to be interrupted. It is best not to mention his name on paper; that leads to a better discussion. He already has a blooming career behind him, but he stumbled along the way and had to represent his country in warmer climes for a time in the seventies. Thus he has kept his hands clean and is now on the way up again.

But not much upward progress has been made. After the troubled years of 1980 and 1981 and Jaruzelski's military coup the Polish communists have suffered moral bankruptcy. The spokesman does not beat about the bush and tells me: "After December 1981, after the proclamation of martial law, I worked for 2 days in a mine in Katowice where Solidarity had been very strong and where miners had blown up the mine shafts after 13 December. Sometimes I asked them: Why did you do that? No one answered. The last evening I was there we sat together in the dark. You really could not see a thing and I asked again: Why? Then a voice came out of the pitch dark: Because you communists, you bloody communists, have been telling us for 35 years that the workers have the power and we have never noticed it, even slightly.

"Of course, the party has a terrible hangover. In the West victory has only one father, defeat has many. Here defeat has only one father--the party. We should be able to say: The church, the intellectuals are also morally responsible. But no one sees it like that and the party cannot defend itself. We are the leading force in society and all guilt attaches to us."

Question: And what conclusions is the party drawing from this?

Answer: Solidarity had success because it knew the workers' true ambitions. It was not a revolution against communism but against the policies of a party which did not represent the interests of the workers. The party must now learn to defend and promote the interests of this one class, the working class. That also means that we must learn to swallow criticism from the workers. We must learn that there cannot be any limits on this criticism. Solidarity told

people that pluralism alone is the guarantee of democracy. On this point we agree. We must convince every worker that he has influence. That is something that is always being said, but never respected.

Question: The party thought it knew everything for 40 years. Why should the Polish worker suddenly believe you now?

Answer: It is a process of persuasion. It will take a very long time. But in England the building of socialism and Labour has lasted 150 years. We have only been at it for 39 years.

Question: And have lost 35 of those years.

Answer: You can learn in two ways--at a university, and in practice, by falling down and getting up again. We learn in both ways.

Question: You recognize Solidarity's criticism. Now Solidarity is forbidden; it no longer has a voice. People want nothing at all to do with a party which has done that and which for 35 years has missed chances, but which now has a new willingness.

Answer: The workers saw Solidarity as the realization of a dream. The fact that the party recognizes that is the best proof. We are not keen to commit suicide. Behind us we are spurred on by the workers. [answer ends]

It seems rather meager, this "proof" of the PZPR. A verbal recognition of the merits of an opposition whose banning the party definitely does not regret. A proof that no Pole swallows. The second misunderstanding by the jovial party chief follows immediately. "The workers spur us on." However, there are really no workers doing any spurring. The vast majority of workers went over to Solidarity en masse when the opportunity presented itself, and after the ban on their union the party will continue to be a problem for them.

The isolation of the party within Polish society, of which it is said to be the leading force, is being increased steadily by the present leadership in Poland, which is acting in a very unorthodox because unioeological way for Eastern Europe. Ideological terms very seldom occur in conversations with the leadership, the party is not mentioned and pragmatism takes pride of place in the actions of the authorities. PRON and the new trade unions are much closer to the center of attention than the party.

Thus, in a certain sense the PZPR is becoming a "Western" party, which after a major defeat is licking its wounds in a corner of political life, thinking over its sins, mourning its 800,000 members who have deserted it, and reflecting.

This raises the question of who is actually ruling Poland--it is certainly not the party.

Jaruzelski's Poland has become the only country in the history of East European socialism where the government--traditionally the implementer of policies determined by the party--is actually governing. It is true that this is a relative concept, because the grip the authorities have on public life is fairly superficial and does not rest on moral authority but on military and police power. But nonetheless, if the country is being governed, it is being governed by the government, or, more accurately, by a central cabinet of pragmatists and technicians, probably strongly dominated by generals like Jaruzelski, Interior Minister Kiszczak, and Defense Minister Siwicki, and economist Messner. They are people without ideological elan, managers without vision--a great weakness of this regime.

According to some Polish observers work is mainly done by the prime minister and his deputy premiers, assisted by specialist ministers on an ad hoc basis in the case of particular problems.

One of these observers: "The party has become a little party that it is being abandoned to its fate. But there is more: It is clear that the party in Poland will never regain the power it had in the past, not even after stabilization. Every day and at every level it loses more theoretical say and theoretical power."

One of the present regime's hobbyhorses is decentralization. Here power is not so much spread as collected, and at every level it is party bosses who are losing theirs, for in the final analysis all power rests with them. Power is moving over to the state, to lower-level managers, the pragmatists. The party is only involved in policy to the extent that the prime minister and some deputy premiers are also party officials, but they are only acting as such for form's sake.

The observer: "This power will never return to the party. The best they can hope for in the future is a consultative or an inspirational role."

Information Minister Jerzy Urban [title as published] confirms this vision, although he uses other words and does not say that the party has served its purpose. "The government's role has increased in recent years. Its role in the past was more administrative. This is a more political government. The party's influence at different levels is variable." Urban also confirms the permanent nature of the shift of power: "It is a lasting change. But I do not see that it is in conflict with the party's political role. It has accepted a critical method of functioning, and that is a process which is just beginning and is far from ended.

The "acceptance of the critical method of functioning," Urban's euphemism for the renunciation of influence and of the right to determine policy without formally giving up the party's leading role, has not taken place voluntarily. But just as the party had to swallow the success of Solidarity, since the proclamation of martial law it has had to look powerlessly on while the pragmatists have filled their new roles.

Decentralization in the form of a law on local self-government is the most important instrument of the new shift in power.

Urban: "The law shifts power from Warsaw to the municipality but also changes relationships at local level. The law must prevent rule being exercised by small groups of people who served their own interests and form cliques. In order to avoid this sort of thing there are two alternatives: You could strengthen the apparatus of state, or you could democratize. We have opted for the latter alternative, but not 100 percent. The central state power always reserves the right to intervene."

Question: This amounts to limiting the power of the party.

Answer: "The role of the party must depend on the influence the party has in reality. If it earns this influence at local level, well and good." If not--and that is the real situation in Poland--then: Exit the party.

The degradation of the party is a fact which cannot please the Central Committee spokesman, despite his joviality.

It would appear from his reference to the 150-year history of British socialism that he is enough of a realist to admit that it will take "a generation" before the process of persuasion on which he is pinning his hopes will be successful.

But his realism is not without limits. "We must say to the workers: You must see to it that the system works to your advantage. Here the trade unions are important. Next, the party must protect the workers from bureaucracy."

These are beautiful goals, but in today's Poland they would sound totally out of touch with the world. The workers are not listening and the bureaucrats are robbing the "protectors" of their power. The party boss may maintain that "we are not keen to commit suicide," but the reality is that the murder has already taken place or is taking place daily and that only another voice out of the darkness will make this clear to the man who worked in a mine for 2 days.

CSO: 3614/45



## OFFICIAL VIEW ON LAW OF SEA OUTLINED

Warsaw TECHNIKA I GOSPODARKA MORSKA in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 446-448

[Article by Dr Zenon Knypl: "The Convention on the Law of the Sea and Polish Legislation"]

[Text] The signing of the Convention on the Law of the Sea<sup>1</sup> by Poland and the prospects for its ratification encourage a comparison between its resolutions and Polish legislation. Ratification of the international agreement means its final acceptance by the country and a commitment to carry it out. Sometimes the due fulfillment of an international agreement requires changes and complementation of domestic legislation. There is no doubt that the Convention on the Law of the Sea will exert a great effect on national legal regulations, especially those which concern the new rights of the coastal countries. The legal documents of some countries, referring to economic zones, fishing zones and even the principles of exploitation of the natural resources of the deep sea bottom, even contain a forecast of their adaptation to the new Law of the Sea.<sup>2</sup>

Current regulation of the legal status of the Polish territorial sea, the continental shelf and the fishing zone on the Baltic Sea deviates from the resolutions of the Convention on the Law of the Sea.

#### The Territorial Sea

The Convention on the Law of the Sea accepts the lowest water line along the coast as the normal base line used to chart the boundaries of the territorial sea, and consequently the range of the contiguous zone, the economic zone (fishing zone) and the continental shelf as well (article 5). Considered as part of the coast are the permanent pieces of port equipment extending furthest into the sea and constituting an integral part of the port system (article 11). However, the law of 17 December 1977 on the territorial sea of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]<sup>3</sup> considers the width of the territorial sea not from the lowest water line, but from the seacoast, i.e., the line of contact between the sea and the land at the mean multiyear water level. The law does not anticipate any possibility of moving the base line further into the sea and transferring it along the outer port equipment. On the basis of an analysis of the actual text of the law, it could be thought that the territorial sea of the PRL always begins at the line connecting the sea with the land at the

mean multiyear water level at every point of the coast, obviously except for the Gulf of Gdansk. Meanwhile this is not at all the case. Article 4 of the decree of 23 March 1956 on the protection of natural boundaries,<sup>4</sup> which has not been revoked, shows that the waters of ports and roadsteads are considered as internal maritime waters. At the same time, the external limit of the internal sea waters is the initial boundary of the territorial sea. Consequently, the regulations of the law of 17 December 1977 and the decree of 23 March 1956 on this subject have not been duly harmonized with each other.

Attention must be directed toward the fact that, despite the Convention on the Law of the Sea, the law on the PRL territorial sea designates as basic only the line enclosing the Polish internal sea waters in the Gulf of Gdansk (article 1, paragraph 3), while the line should simply be called the base line.

While confirming the obligatory nature of the right of harmless passage of foreign ships, the law did not regulate this right with respect to foreign battleships, declaring only: "Separate regulations define the stay of foreign battleships in the PRL territorial sea." Putting matters this way must be recognized as unsound, beginning with the very terminology. The term "stay" is not unambiguous, and does not correspond to the terminology adopted in the Convention on the Law of the Sea. This Convention, in the wake of the Geneva Convention of 1958,<sup>5</sup> does not generally regulate "stay," and therefore the sojourn of foreign battleships in the territorial sea of a coastal country, but only the right of harmless passage, based on a rapid and uninterrupted transition through actual foreign territory. A "passage," which is changed<sup>6</sup> into a "sojourn," is no longer merely taking advantage of privileged treatment and can be dependent on the consent of the coastal country. However, in the law on the territorial sea the matter is undoubtedly the right of harmless passage of battleships. Up to this time the passage of foreign battleships through the territorial sea has required the prior consent of the competent Polish authorities.<sup>7</sup> Poland has not ratified the Geneva Convention of 1958 on the territorial sea and the contiguous zone, anticipating the right of harmless passage of battleships. At the Third Law of the Sea Conference, Poland, the USSR and some other socialist countries changed their previous attitude and supported the right of harmless passage of battleships.<sup>8</sup>

Polish ratification of the Convention on the Law of the Sea makes it necessary to revoke regulations conditioning the passage of foreign battleships through the territorial sea on prior agreement of Polish authorities and to regulate problems associated with this right in one legal document. After all, the law of 17 December 1977 does not specify more clearly the right of harmless passage in either a positive or negative formulation, while the decree of 23 March 1956 mentions the circumstances causing a loss of the feature of harmlessness during passage, which justifies taking definite steps against a foreign ship.

De lege ferenda [concerning the law to be passed], it is necessary to postulate in every legal document the regulation of all problems of the territorial sea, which will facilitate the exercise and defense of national sovereignty on the sea as well as due execution of international commitments.

Polish legislation does not have any terminological uniformity. Since 1958, in conformity with the convention on the territorial sea and the contiguous zone, it has been the practice to call the stretch of water participating in the territorial composition of a coastal nation the territorial sea. The law of 17 December 1977 uses this definition. However, the decree of the minister of national defense of 31 March 1978, changing the instruction on the matter of conditions for foreign battleships to remain within the scope of inland sea waters, territorial waters and the waters of a contiguous zone,<sup>9</sup> continues to use the term "territorial sea waters."

### The Contiguous Zone

Expanding the width of the territorial sea to 12 nautical miles, the law of 17 December 1977 simultaneously revoked the regulations on the contiguous zone, although this institution was not questioned during the work of the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea, and was in the convention concluded. The contiguous zone can extend to 24 nautical miles from the base line of the territorial sea, and within it a coastal country can take steps necessary to prevent infringement of its customs, revenue, immigration and health regulations and to punish acts committed in opposition to these regulations within the land or sea territory of the country. The institution of a contiguous zone would be useful since it would strengthen the defense of Polish territory. Indeed, the contiguous zone would be within the area already included by the fishing zone, but there is no concurrence of rights here, since the functional powers of a coastal country are different in the two zones.<sup>10</sup>

### The Fishing Zone

The convention on the Law of the Sea does not recognize the institution of a fishing zone, but only of an economic zone in which a coastal country enjoys sovereign rights to living and mineral resources of the waters and of the sea bottom, to economic use of the zone in any other was associated with the production of power, jurisdiction in the area of erecting and using artificial islands, scientific maritime research and protection of the environment (article 56). These are rights considerably exceeding the limited scope of fishing rights stemming from the law of 17 December 1977 on the Polish maritime fishing zone.<sup>11</sup> This law did not even regulate matters of scientific maritime research within the zone. Only the decree of the minister of foreign trade and maritime economy of 14 April 1979, changing the instruction<sup>12</sup> on matters of principles and conditions of fishing rights for foreign fishing vessels in the Polish maritime fishing zone,<sup>13</sup> led to a regulation resolving that the performance of scientific research activity in the area of disciplines associated with maritime fishing by foreign vessels requires the agreement of the minister of foreign trade and maritime economy,<sup>14</sup> until suitable international legal regulations are adopted.

In the area of scientific maritime research Poland appears on the one hand as a coastal nation interested in the protection of its rights in the fishing zone, and on the other hand as a country performing scientific research in other waterways. Therefore, Polish legislation should give due consideration to the double interests, but the way to do this lies in adjusting the regulation of

domestic law to the Convention on the Law of the Sea, consisting of a compromise between the goal of preserving freedom in scientific maritime research and tendencies to restrict it.

### The Continental Shelf

The law of 12 December 1977 on the PRL continental shelf<sup>15</sup> resolves (article 3, paragraph 1) that the resources of the Polish continental shelf constitute state property. In this area the law went further than the Geneva Convention on the continental shelf, ratified by Poland,<sup>16</sup> and the Convention on the Law of the Sea authorizing a coastal nation only sovereign rights to the resources of the bottom in a functional concept. The resolution on the ownership of resources contained in the law is useless from the viewpoint of protecting national interests, and can be recognized as harmful from the political standpoint. Poland, a country with an unfavorable geographic position, is located on a small semi-enclosed sea and, in view of this, possesses a small economic zone and a small continental shelf, and is not really interested in further increasing the powers of coastal countries. After all, in the future this could lead to the gradual formation of a status quo in these areas of the territorial sea, with all the unfavorable consequences resulting from it. The resolution mentioned could be eliminated from the law and replaced by a formula in conformity with the international law of the sea.

### Protection of the Environment

The Convention on the Law of the Sea lists protection of the maritime environment among the basic obligations of countries (article 192). The separate 12th section and many regulations scattered throughout the convention text were devoted to the protection of the maritime environment. The law of 31 January 1980 on the protection and formation of the environment<sup>17</sup> only contains general resolutions on the protection of the maritime environment, referring to individual regulations (article 24), which actually do not exist except for a few fragmentary regulations. What is more, the cited law worsened the legal punishment protection of the Polish territorial sea against pollution. In revoking article 122 of the law of 24 October 1974, the Water Law,<sup>18</sup> which provides for financial responsibility for an act related to harmful pollution of the territorial sea waters (article 7, paragraph 2 of the law), the law did not simultaneously implement another regulation, which would assure such protection.

However, it is certainly a good thing that a draft law on the protection of the maritime environment as a result of utilization of the sea, elaborated in the Maritime Institute, has not yet been passed, since it would require amendments for the purpose of adaptation to the Convention of the Law of the Sea.

### Other Resolutions of the Convention on the Law of the Sea

A survey of the resolutions of the Convention on the Law of the Sea indicates the need for investigating the right and exercise of fining, since in this area the Convention on the Law of the Sea contains regulations which cannot be met in the current state of Polish legislation. In articles 228-231 and article 73,

paragraph 3, the convention anticipates the obligation of suspending and then discontinuing the imposition of a fine instituted by a coastal country in the case of pollution of the sea by a foreign ship, if the prosecution is conducted by the country of the ship's flag. The convention also anticipates the obligation of introducing a 3-year statute of limitations on the prosecution of deeds relating to pollution of the sea by foreign ships, as well as an obligation limiting sanctions to fines, with the exception of a deliberate and serious pollution of the territorial sea. A prohibition against using punishment of imprisonment refers to the authors of deeds infringing upon the exclusive right of a coastal country in the area of fishing within its economic zone.

At present, compulsory Polish penal law regarding these acts provides for imprisonment as well as a financial penalty.<sup>19</sup>

The Convention on the Law of the Sea regulates cooperation among countries in a wide area in the field of prosecuting the authors of pollution of the maritime environment, a discussion of which goes beyond the limits of this article. However, there are regulations of a general nature which will certainly require development in bilateral or multilateral agreements on legal assistance, and which will exert an influence on domestic regulations regulating the principles, scope and course of legal assistance provided by Polish organs of legal prosecution and punishment.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Doc. A/Conf. 62/121, 21 October 1982.
2. See, for example, the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 10 December 1976 on temporary means of protecting living resources and regulating fishing in the seas contiguous to the USSR Coast. VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1976, No 50, item 728.
3. DZ. U. No 37, item 162.
4. DZ. U. No 9, item 51; 1959, No 27, item 168; and 1969, No 13, item 95.
5. The Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone of 29 April 1958.
6. I shall omit the immunity belonging to battleships.
7. See the decree of the minister of national defense of 29 March 1957 on the matter of the conditions of foreign battleships staying within the internal maritime waters, territorial waters and waters of the contiguous strip. DZ. U. No 19, item 96; amendment: DZ. U. 1978, No 9, item 88.
8. Doc. A/Conf. 62/C, 2/L, 26.
9. DZ. U. 1978, No 9, item 38. The Navy Hydrological Office also uses this term in its publications; see, for example, LOCJA BALTYKU, Supplement No 1, Gdynia, 1981, p 110.

10. At the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea the majority of countries, Poland among them, supported the retention of the traditional institution of the contiguous zone. Retention of this institution in the Convention on the Law of the Sea is one of the arguments favoring the opinion that the economic zone is part of the open sea; see, S. P. Golovatyy, "The Economic Zone and the Institution of Contiguous Zones," SOVETSKIY EZHEGODNIK MEZHDUNARODNOGO PRAVA, 1980, Moscow, 1981, p. 178.
11. DZ. U. No 37, item 163.
12. See the Instruction of 22 December 1977, DZ. U. No 38, item 175.
13. DZ. U. No 9, item 56.
14. Now the minister-director of the Office of Maritime Economy.
15. DZ. U. No 37, item 164.
16. DZ. U. No 28, item 179.
17. DZ. U. No 3, item 6.
18. DZ. U. No 38, item 230.
19. See article 140 of the k.k. [Penal Code], article X, paragraph 2 of the introductory regulations of the k.k., article 8, paragraph 1 of the law of 17 December 1977 on the Polish maritime fishing zone.

6806

CSO: 2600/550

KOMENDER OUTLINES PAX HISTORICAL STANCE

AU151330 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 10, 11, 12 Feb 84 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Deputy Premier Zenon Komender, chairman of the PAX Association, by Jozef Wojcik: "PAX Is an Integral Part of People's Poland's Past and Present..."--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Wojcik] A symposium has taken place recently devoted to the ideological-political thoughts of Boleslaw Piasecki and organized by the PAX History Department to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the death of the founder of PAX. The symposium was your idea. Therefore, I would like to use this opportunity to ask for a statement for SLOWO POWSZECHNE readers. May I ask the following question: The view was expressed in Prof Alfons Klafkowski's [a Sejm deputy] report, in which he described Boleslaw Piasecki's thoughts as a certain ideological-political doctrine, that the basis for this doctrine is what we call the Polish school of patriotic thinking. What do you think of this statement?

[Komender] This is apt description. The Polish school of patriotic thinking is indeed a key topic in the thoughts and actions of Boleslaw Piasecki and the PAX movement.

PAX has always stressed the need to study Polish political thought and has always stressed the value of historical experience for shaping the political culture of Poles and for guaranteeing an essential continuity of thought on matters concerning the Polish state and nation. By formulating the principles of the Polish school of patriotic thought, we are mirroring a wide current of Polish patriotic thought which has taken shape over entire generations. We have never been quick to condemn those who had a different patriotic conception, but we have entered with them into objective and well-argued dialogue, or, if you prefer, constructive polemics.

[Wojcik] Speaking about a Poland which is situated at a juncture of world conflicts today, we are touching upon a key issue. I mean Poland's place in this difficult world. The subject was dealt with during the symposium both in historical and contemporary terms. What can you add to it?

[Komender] During times of increased international tension, the social and progressive PAX movement has always been guided by the principle, which was recalled during the symposium, that the front of international confrontation

cannot be transferred onto Polish territory, because it could lead to great misfortune, even to civil war. We have also guided ourselves by this principle in the recent past, and it remains valid. The centers of antisocialist subversion want the above to happen, and in this way they become a tool in the hands of the world anticommunist front and often in the hands of forces that are quite anti-Polish. And this occurs regardless of the intentions of individuals. After all, we are aware that the international contest is not being played for Poland but involves a far greater scale. There was a time when the "Polish fragment" was used exceptionally often, which led us to the edge of the precipice. The December 1981 decision stopped us from falling into it. But the political struggle is still on. The point is that stabilization and calm in Poland do not only serve us, the Polish nation, but they also promote security, strengthen the socialist camp, and preserve world peace. This, of course, does not suit the followers of confrontation, and therefore we are bound to encounter attempts to lead us to what we have had before.

We are on the side of those who say that Poland will not leave the socialist camp, and we are part of those patriotic-socialist forces whose activity is based on the above statement. Generally speaking, it is those patriotic forces who understand the historical importance of preserving Poland's secure place in the world who came out with the idea of creating PRON so that the problems we have to solve in Poland may be solved with Polish resources. They are our problems and often very painful and difficult ones, but they are domestic problems which cannot be mixed and combined with the international confrontation front organized by the capitalist West. There can be no two ways about political attitudes or about current daily activity. Unfortunately, the centers of antisocialist subversion are constantly launching slogans designed to sow confusion. Our movement is openly presenting problems which we believe demand solution and we speak about them in the new edition of "PAX's Ideological-Political Guidelines," but at the same time we are guarding those national interests and conditions which protect Poland's place in a divided world.

The so-called theory of two enemies is well known from Polish history. That is how our fortunes in the past were shaped, and this theory also influenced social consciousness to the extent that Poles grew up with a feeling of being surrounded by enemies. Germany and Russia were enemies, and we have also had "additional" enemies in various periods such as the Czechs, Ukrainians and Lithuanians. The past has obviously left behind various sentiments and grudges. The political opponents are constantly trying to revive them. This is frankly an anti-Polish way of behaving; it is anachronistic and against the properly-conceived interests of Poland, which for obvious reasons must be concerned with creating a friendly environment around its borders.

As a nation and state we are in an incomparably better situation today than we were in the past. But one must influence a favorable situation among friendly socialist countries and one must gain from this situation both a consistent attitude and a sense of partnerlike joint activity. For our country's prestige and importance and the preservation of its identity within its allied bonds and contacts depend on our domestic potential and on our ability to



support the values which we work out ourselves. In our allied contacts with the community of socialist countries, we must always concentrate on negotiation favorable conditions on the one hand, and honestly fulfilling our commitments on the other. Boleslaw Piasecki placed the greatest importance concerning Poland's situation in the world on the alliance with the Soviet Union. I also know from my own experience how important it was for him that contacts should widen and that Poles' knowledge of the Soviet Union should increase. We as a movement are continuing this line of argument and conduct.

CSO: 2600/666

MOKRZYSZCZAK DISCUSSES PARTY ORGANIZATION

LD111918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1505 GMT 11 Feb 84

[Text] Good evening ladies and gentlemen, this is Jerzy Malczynski. I have invited Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee to take part in the program.

Comrade secretary, at present our party is half way between congresses. Since the ninth extraordinary party congress, held in July 1981, we have experienced a great deal, including party organizational experiences. We have had several campaigns, since first there was a report-back campaign after the congress, the report-back and election campaign in all party organizations including the voivodship organizations ended recently, the 15th plenum is approaching, and immediately after that the national conference of delegates will be held. The party has gathered a great deal of experiences. Let us sum them up.

[Mokrzyaszczak] They were all very important stages in the life and work of the party. I think that each of these stages familiarized us with how and how much the party is consolidating how and how much it feels stronger or strong in its activity. They were not only those great campaigns you mentioned, comrade, which defined the rhythm of our work, but each session of the Central Committee, in the preparatory work--I am speaking here in particular on the participation of members of the Central Committee in consultations, in our 2-day meetings with the Central Committee members during which we jointly prepare documents for the plenary session. The elaborated resolutions are simply a result of the entire collective.

[Malczynski] I would like to add here that during a year there are more or less a hundred meetings of the Central Committee commissions.

[Mokrzyaszczak] The problem commissions are working very intensively. It is not only my duty but my indubitable pleasure to participate in the work of extra-party commissions and I must state that the activity of the members of this commission is simply to mobilize, encourage, stimulate further work. In our commission we have fulfilled several very important tasks--namely, at the beginning of this term of office when the great majority of first secretaries of basic party organization were changed, when if I remember rightly, perhaps nearly 60 percent of them were comrades elected to this post for the first time,

it was extremely urgent to work out a sort of handbook since they were men full of enthusiasm and eagerness for party work but often lacking experience.

[Mokrzyszczak] If I am to talk about the activity of our interparty commission, then I have to say that the commission has also done a lot of work while preparing the regulations of the elections, the provisional regulations for the time being, with a very broad participation of the party members. The national conference of delegates will be working on this, too. The commission has met twice in plenary session in order to discuss the regulations. They were referred for consultations to party organizations, to the party aktiv groups. We gathered data and finally the draft regulations appeared in the formula that the Central Committee, at the proposal of the inter-party commission, adopted with its resolution on the 13th plenum, and it was to be implemented during the course of the campaign.

[Malczynski] It is an interesting issue that the provisional regulations adopted at the 13th plenum encompassed the elections of the party authorities at the voivodship committee level. The ensuing conferences are to add, as it were, the part which will be very necessary before the 10th congress of the party--that is, the election of the central authorities, the election of the delegates to the congress, and so on and so forth.

[Mokrzyszczak] The writing of the next chapter, so to speak--that is, the election of the central authorities--will also take place in a very democratic way. We have prepared the draft regulations and they have been discussed in the inter-party commission and it has been sent away to the delegates to the national party conference. Therefore, we are expecting comments and proposals before the start of the national conference and we are planning to have another session of the inter-party commission so we can gather possible comments, discuss them, and subsequently present another version to the delegates. Thus I believe that the final version of the regulations adopted and approved by the national conference for a broad application in the party will be a formula which will satisfy the party as a whole, as in fact, it will be creating it.

[Malczynski] We have concentrated on the activity of the inter-party commission, but I would like you to say a few sentences about the course of the report-back and electoral campaign which has come to an end recently. A campaign of this kind is not only a summing up of how individual organizational links of the party are implementing the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress and 14th plenary session of the party Central Committee, and their decisions adopted at their plenary sessions is also a verification, as it were, being conducted all the time, of the party functionaries, both fulltime employees and those who have been elected to the posts--above all, those who have been elected. What does it look like right now?

[Mokrzyszczak] Generally speaking, all of them get too fascinated by figures. Changes in the post of first secretaries during this campaign amounted to some 30 percent plus in the whole party organization. Of first secretaries, this is a norm we have had for a number of years, with the exception of the 1981 campaign before the ninth congress.

These are the first secretaries. The composition of the committees has been changed in a varying percentage. In fact, to give an average would be misleading, I think. One could say changes of approximately 30 to 50 percent. Only sporadically were there any more. Why was this happening?

A vast amount of work was carried out before the conference, at meetings with the delegates and consultations. Some echelons did this not just once but several times, in small groups so that each delegate could take the floor as often as he wanted to discuss issues including personnel, assessing the functioning of members of party authorities to date. Many committees, on different levels, have collected data summarizing activeness, participation in plenary meetings, how often a comrade has attended who holds the post of member of the parish committee, urban committee, voivodship committee or meetings of other party organizations besides his own. This type of assessment of activities of members of party echelons was at the root of the changes which have taken place.

[Malczynski] Could we go back to the voivodship echelons. Here the changes among the first secretaries were smallest. Thus one could conclude that the earlier decisions on filling of the posts of voivodship-level first secretaries were correct.

[Mokrzyszczak] Yes, of course, the issue can only be treated objectively. I have to admit that we have used the formula in accordance with the regulations. It was possible to use the formula of recommendations by the supreme echelons--that is, by the Politburo in this case, in the matter of first secretaries. However, I have to say that some of our comrades did not want recommendations of that kind, not because they did not like the Politburo but because they believed that it would be more democratic if it were the conference's initiative.

[Malczynski] It is possible to say that after the completion of this report-back and electoral campaign and before the national conference of delegates the party has made a great step towards attaining political and organizational unity.

[Mokrzyszczak] This has not taken place in jumps and I have said already that it was a constant march forward, although not always with equal steps and not always very quickly. Since January 1982, the seventh plenum, which was of great significance for the party, one could see the changes taking place little by little. They took place many times, every month, in various party meetings. Simply, you could discern the change from one month to another. The campaign was of particular importance here, of course, and the step here was greater.

Things were getting sorted out before the campaign but the party felt that the campaign had to take place because it was due, after all, and the basic organizations were already busy sorting out their affairs. They were conducting analyses of the activeness of their members. During the campaign as many as 7,000 members of the party were expelled because they were not active enough or were two-faced. During the campaign we accepted more than 5,000 new members. The process of consolidating the party for uniform functioning in the ideological and organizational sense is proceeding very clearly and after the 12th and 13th plenums--that is after the two sessions which were very rich in discussion and

after the working out of the documents of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee--the process is proceeding well. It was a very good thing that these plenums took place before the report-back and electoral campaign.

[Malczynski] I have come across views, even expressed by those who participated in the ninth extraordinary congress, that it was a shame that the party adopted a statute which requires that the party to undergo organizational campaigns relatively frequently. I have spoken about this to one of the secretaries of a factory committee and he said that every year Lenin used to expose himself to verifications and he functioned very well and gained credibility and confirmed people's confidence. What do you think about this? Are these campaigns too frequent?

[Mokrzyszczak] The party has been greatly involved in every campaign and because of this the party's activity outside has been a little weakened, in the field in which the party has been vitally interested. Indeed campaigns have been held every year, because the beginning and end takes 3 1/2 months in the case of report-back and election campaigns. Thus only a year passes before we have to prepare our accounting again. This absorbs and greatly involves the entire party aktiv. We do not present any changes in this, because only a congress can alter the statute. I have heard some proposals, and some branches have adopted resolutions in order to extend the term of office of voivodship authorities on a part with central authorities. The proposal has been registered, and can even be submitted at the congress.

[Malczynski] There are certain benefits due to the fact that the party must prepare more often something like an examination of conscience on how a resolution has been implemented, the ninth extraordinary congress being a case in point.

[Mokrzyszczak] Indeed, first it has good influence on the delegates' frame of mind if in some predetermined and not too long period of time they must learn about issues which they have submitted, whether they have been resolved, or will be resolved, or are being dealt with. This most certainly improves the frame of mind and encourages further action. And this is certainly a positive factor. Naturally, all these internal and party issues are also being put in proper focus during every campaign. Discipline goes up by at least one degree: Look at what every comrade is doing, how he performs his duty--all this naturally has many pluses.

[Malczynski] Much more work for aktives.

[Mokrzyszczak] Certainly.

CSO: 2600/665

GENERAL RYBA DESCRIBES ANTIPROFITEERING CAMPAIGN

LD151745 Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 15 Feb 84

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Feb (PAP)--Deputy chief of the Main Antiprofitteering Commission, Gen Marian Ryba, said in a PAP interview published today that the Polish police last year had carried out 21 nation-wide antiprofitteering operations, which revealed 10,860 serious and over 87,000 lesser offences against the consumer.

"The police found in sales outlets under-the-counter goods worth nearly 140 million zlotys (1.4 million dollars), and sequestered as evidence profiteered articles worth 520 million zlotys (5.2 million dollars)," said General Ryba, and commented:

"Although we note a slight decline in the number of detected profiteering offences, they have tended to take on a wholesale size. Last year, for example, the police tracked down about 700 cases of large scale profiteering, 50 per cent over the 1982 record.

"Profiteering gangs, often made up of a senior factory, trade and transport workers and officials, intercepted vast quantities of goods. One example is a 64-person gang in Legnica (southwestern Poland), which had made illegal profit on leather products, furniture, and other luxury goods totalling 45 million zlotys. Another example is a gang of speculators from a furniture plant in southeastern Poland, who had illegally traded in 4,500 sets of furniture valued at over 30 million zlotys.

Forty per cent of the 11,500 suspects under investigation for profiteering offences last year were home trade workers, 17 per cent were pensioners, and 13 per cent were notorious job dodgers."

The general predicted that crime-breeding factors would go on at a level not much different from last year. "Obviously, those in the antiprofitteering front will not sit back. We are going to continuously update our data...and monitor the whole way from the manufacturer to the consumer." He added that his commission hopes to get public help from workers' and youth antiprofitteering squads, the federation of consumers, trade unions and the mass media.

"Unable for the time being to improve the nation's living conditions, we must redouble our efforts to protect what we have," the general said in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/71

## CULTURAL RELATIONS, STRUGGLES DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 13 Jan 84 p 23

[Article by Joerg Bremer: "Between Hope and Anxiety—Polish Artists Seeking New Relationship to Party"]

[Text] Warsaw, in January—The old artists associations may be dead and gone and the new ones are eking out a precarious existence on the fringes of Polish cultural life and yet free Polish art is alive and well anyway. It has its domicile in private corners, in the churches and in the underground. Thus far, the state has not succeeded in getting Polish culture to toe the line in terms of loyalty to the government or love for socialism. In fact, there are some artists who believe that the government already regrets some of the measures it has taken over the past 2 years. The movie directors, for example, took note of a distinctly friendlier tone by the party toward them at the meeting of their association in December. At the last minute, it is said, every mention of criticism of the old association leadership under Andrzej Wajda was crossed out of the prepared texts. The party is said to have become more realistic and to be pulling back from its maximal demands. In many places, forces other than those in the past were getting their ideas through.

There are three major groupings which have an influence on cultural policy in Poland. There are the bureaucrats who operate the levers of power. They are subject to various influences. Insofar as they are artists themselves, they suffer from their lack of success and creativity which relegated them to life in the bureaucracy. They are busy collecting information; but they do so at their own discretion and at times simply in order to support their prejudices. This group is headed by Minister of Culture and Art Zygulski who once had a brief and unsuccessful tenure as deputy director of the Lodz film academy. Recently, at the meeting of the Polish filmmakers association (TFP), he called attention to his membership in the organization once again; but it does not seem as though he has an impact on policy in this sector.

The PZPR is supposed to play a leading role in helping to formulate cultural policy on the basis of state ideology. In this, the central committee has succeeded in carrying out its work of destruction over the past several months. It almost seems as though General Jaruzelski has entrusted the party

with this aspect of social life—as a compensation (and then some) for its lack of influence in other areas. As an outside observer and reader of newspapers, one notes that the man responsible for this job is 30 year-old central committee secretary Waldemar Swirgon. He was appointed to the central committee as a youth functionary and given the job of winning over young people for the party. This was a rather thankless assignment which was why Swirgon soon received a new one. To be sure, he had never had anything to do with cultural matters before. For a number of years, the political science graduate was active as a farm youth functionary. He is a party pragmatist who did not take long in adopting the basic vocabulary of the party language. When it was recently pointed out to him at an association meeting that the new cultural organizations were not empowered to reach any decisions of their own, he said that was not true at all—a statement which has been widely quoted since. After all, he said, there was nothing to prevent the organization from passing a resolution opposing the deployment of the Pershing II's in Western Europe. Swirgon's immediate deputy is the chief of the central committee's cultural department, Nawrocki, who is said to have published two vicious articles aimed at Polish writers last June under the name of Marcin Kowalski.

At this time, the party would rather not be reminded of these articles which appeared in TRYBUNA LUDU. It has never been determined whether these articles were cleared with the party newspaper's feature editor, Misiorny. As an "insider" in the cultural scene, Misiorny would have been a more likely man to write the articles. The film makers are now pinning their hopes on another man in the central committee, Henryk Zientek, an immediate subordinate of Nawrocki's who holds the post of deputy director of the central committee's cultural department.

The third force in Polish cultural policy resides in the government. Konwicki, the writer, recently said jokingly that Poland was being governed by feature writers. He recalled that government spokesman Urban is a journalist as is Jaruzelski's adviser, Colonel Gornicki. Vice Premier Rakowski once was a member of the same editorial team as government writer Passent of POLITYKA, who recently composed a much talked about intelligent and undisguised paean to Jaruzelski. Of these journalists in government, government spokesman Urban still is by far the most active. He cannot keep from writing and is not even daunted by sharp church criticism for accusing national saint Maksimilian Kolbe of anti-Semitism. Urban does wield a vitriolic pen and there are times when it seems he is more interested in stirring up controversy than in the subject matter as such.

Generally speaking, these journalists are members of the liberal camp in the Polish government spectrum. This group has had a difficult time of it over the past several months; above all, it was unable to strengthen its influence inside the party. Vice Premier Rakowski who was to calm down the Western countries following the imposition of martial law has been sent out to talk to the workers as well over the last few months. He spoke in



large factories and even at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk. In these appearances, he evinced vanity with regard to his rhetorical powers as well as naivete in thinking that his words would mollify the wrath of the workers. This "journalists' camp" inside the government has had less of an impact on cultural life although it did help shape events in cultural life by virtue of the strong influence exerted by Polish journalists on public opinion. Both intelligent and soothing formulations thus accompanied the work of destruction carried on by the party.

On 19 August, the writers organization was dissolved. This took place following a series of articles in TRYBUNA LUDU which again and again mentioned names as if to make it clear that the personages named would be excluded from any future organization. False accusations were made. Contacts with Polish exiles and the Paris magazine KULTURA were supposed to discredit well-known persons. The published accounts of dollar amounts in connection with writers' trips abroad and their honoraria were quite astonishing.

In this way, the Polish writers' dependence on "imperialism" and the exiles was supposed to be proven. The author—a certain Marcin Kowalski—failed to see, however, that every reader would know that such detailed information was available only to the secret police, to police spies or that it was a pure fabrication. Just the same, the dissolution of the organization came as a surprise. It turned out that cultural policy was being made on several fronts at once because immediately following the imposition of martial law, Vice Premier Rakowski assured the then chairman of the organization, Szczepanski that "a Czech solution would be idiotic." This is why many inside the organization thought that a commissar would be appointed to act as temporary chairman.

80 year-old writer Halina Auderska had been picked for the job early on. A book of hers dealing with her underground activities against the Germans may be recalled. In that book, she never mentioned the name of her then chief, Tadeusz Zensczykowski—the only reason being that he later went into exile and then fell out of favor with the Polish government. Halina Auderska had worked hard on behalf of the writers' organization for years—even if it only involved getting the club's kitchen and checkroom in shape. But as a commissar, Ms Auderska would not have been prepared to exclude all those from the organization whom the party did not like, according to the TRYBUNA LUDU article. And so the whole organization was sacrificed and only then was she called upon.

Translators are no longer accepted as members of the new organization. Formerly, there were almost 1,400 members in all or 800 not including the translators. At present, the new organization has 350 members of which 200 are from Warsaw. But more and more are going to join. Many of the older writers considered this organization something of a home; it is active on their behalf until they die. This became particularly clear to one and all recently when Aleksander Scibor-Rylski, who wrote the scenario for Wajda's film "Man of Marble", died and his friends were unable on their own to find

a burial plot for him at the renowned Powazki cemetery. The organization could have done something about this; but Scibor-Rylski—along with many others—did not want to join. Nor did Zbigniew Herbert, Brandys, Lem or Konwicki or Rozewicz and Kusniewicz. And Dobraczynski, the chairman of the "Patriotic Movement for National Renewal," has not joined. He feels personally duped, so the story goes, because Jaruzelski himself is supposed to have assured him that the old organization would not be dissolved. Among the better-known new members are Artur Sandauer and Roman Bratny. For a start, therefore, the organization serves to preserve the illusion or facade of well-regulated literary life.

In the meantime, younger authors above all have made their way into the alternative literary scene. It began in 1976 when "Nowa" published Kazimierz Brandys "It Is Not the Truth"—doing a poor job technically. Since then, "Krag" and "Przedswit" have started publishing and there may be many others which are as yet unknown in Warsaw. Subscriptions to books can be had—not in bookstores but through personal contact among friends. These publishing houses which in part operate on a commercial basis offer a number of advantages to the authors as against the large official houses. The underground publisher will take a good 2 months to start production on an author's work while "Czytelnik" will take a good 3 years. In the latter case, he has to deal with a massive bureaucracy and the censorship apparatus—which tend to drag things out.

In some instances, the print runs in the underground publishing houses are greater. The book reaches its public while young Polish literary products at times are sold on the black market even before they hit the bookstalls. Even Ernest Bryll publishes in the underground now, although he was a member of the party until martial law was imposed. Tomasz Jastrun, a lyric poet and son of a writer, is one of the much-published authors. There are literary magazines being published in the underground, too, such as "Nowy Zapis," "arka" in Cracow and "odmowa" in Wroclaw. There have also been some authors who have published both in the underground and in the official houses.

The situation is similar in the other organizations as well. The organizations are supposed to combine more specific artistic fields of endeavor. Thus, there no longer is one overall fine arts organization but a separate organization for sculptors, painters and graphic artists. The old, all-inclusive organization was financially independent. It ran its own "art" galleries and maintained a rest center in Zakopane. The state is in charge of them now. The only organization which has remained untouched until now is the small composers' organization and the jazz association. Shortly after the imposition of martial law, an independent council for culture was called into being whose board of trustees—not at all distinct from the old organizational patterns of "Solidarity"—began to collect money to buy up works to be shown in a "museum of independent art." This offered an opportunity to young artists and political radicals above all to sell works of theirs which would never have passed censorship.

It is a museum that is both everywhere and nowhere. In the locked drawers of poets and professors, of painters and journalists the works are piling up and being shown among one's closest friends. An urgent invitation to come and celebrate someone's name day turns out at times to be a ticket to a show of paintings. Friends then gather to look at them and to drink tea or that leftover bottle of red wine. Sporting a "Solidarity" pin on his lapel, the out-of-town artist will then report on his particular experiences under martial law and after as he interprets his own drastic portrayals of beheaded eagles in the red-and-white Polish national colors.

At the academy of fine arts meantime—before the senate has even had an opportunity to name a candidate—a new and unwanted director from Lodz by the name of Artimowski is appointed by the ministry to replace the deceased director Tomaszewski, who was elected during the "Solidarity" era. By law, the academy has the right to name a candidate of its own choice two times. But Girowski, the original candidate, did not appear to suit the government and temporary director Bursche was appointed head of the national museum. Will the protest the members of the senate have lodged change anything? At least it shows that there still is some contact between the cultural bureaucracy and the artistic community.

Just a few days ago, this worked out in a positive manner for the film directors, whose organization appears to have escaped dissolution for the time being. To be sure, the leading figures of the old organization, headed by Andrzej Wajda, have resigned; but the new executive committee represents something of a compromise. Janusz Majewski, the new chairman, is still fighting to work things out; but it is not yet clear how this will affect the work of the directors themselves. Although the script for Wajda's new film about Korczak, the pediatrician's, experiences during the occupation has long been ready, for example, it is still doubtful whether the film will be made in Poland. The last organization to meet was the new version of ZASP, the actors association. It met on 19 December. About 10 percent of the old members have already joined the new-style ZASP. The old organization had been in existence for 60 years; it was the oldest of its kind in Europe. Its new heads have no authority but the relatively small number of Polish actors cannot do without the organization for any appreciable length of time.

Before the first of the year, some members of the film industry had a meeting lasting about 3 hours with General Jaruzelski who is said to be something of a film buff. The participants left the meeting somewhat mollified although five of 10 film organizations had just been dissolved or reconstituted. Wajda's film group X was dissolved by the government. Wajda himself had quit months earlier; his production and literary chiefs had been removed.

For actors, it is particularly difficult to work abroad for a short period of time and to earn money while doing it. For that matter, these very actors have gained a great deal in stature back home over the past several months. They became "public property," as actor and drama teacher Englert

once put it. During the "Solidarity" era and later on under martial law, the theater became one of the most important examples for the alliance between society and culture. Under martial law, many of the actors have refused to cooperate with the authorities. The television boycott staged by many of them was non-political and merely represented the "sum total of individual decisions," the actors now say. But it was a manifestation of moral strength.

The actors no longer were mere "clowns playing different parts;" the theater became the locale of moral protest against the repressive measures of the state. A number of young actors have turned to the church, reciting poetry after the conclusion of mass. A Warsaw actors studio has formed a traveling group which is performing the play "Cardinal Wiszynski and the Polish Cause" throughout the country and playing to packed houses in community centers.

At Czestochowa monastery, painters were housed for several weeks, engaged in a seminar on how to draw the Black Madonna. But as much charity as the church has been extending to artists over the past several months, it is unable to act as a patron of Polish art beyond subsidizing work on religious themes--the more so, since the church is not really known for its good taste in art. But quite generally, the past months have not been fruitful for all Polish artists. Novelist Konwicki recently said that he feels hemmed in on all sides; that everything was up in the air and at the same time all the decisions appeared to have been already taken. These have been months of lyric poetry but not months of the novel, he said. The paintings were like an outcry and the sculptor refashioned a machine gun to make it fire backward. The actors went into hiding behind the old plays of the uprising or clothed their protest in the biting comedy of Mrozek's plays. Even if the state did not mercilessly carry out its initial projects, the work of destruction wreaked on the organizations did suffice to unite the creative sector in its antipathy toward the authorities and their party. They are more decidedly in the opposition than ever before in the history of the Polish People's Republic. But there were a few artists which the state managed to buy out, paying them the equivalent of a year's wages for giving just a few minutes of their time. But it did not go beyond that.

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JAILED DISSIDENT DEFIES AUTHORITIES

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 3, 16 Jan 84, pp 100-104

[Article by Adam Michnik: "I Do Not Intend to Leave Poland"]

[Text] Prior to 13 December 1981 there were two schools of thought inside the "Solidarity" union. Some felt we should reach an agreement with the government at any price. Such an agreement was possible because the government really wanted one, they said.

The others differed with them. They were in favor of mounting a frontal attack at any price because the government, though weak and incompetent, was out to smash "Solidarity." There was a possibility of success, they said, because a general strike would force the government into making the necessary concessions.

The experiences of the past 2 years raise the question of which of these two approaches was the correct one—the radical or the moderate approach. And the answer is: neither.

In retrospect, it is easy to see that a confrontation with the government could not have been won. Even if "Solidarity" had opted for actively defending the factories, for fighting in the streets and for starting a rebellion inside the army, no one should harbor any illusions today as to what would have happened next. The Soviet comrades, as promised, would not have left Poland in the lurch.

But the events of 13 December 1981 and those that followed have shown just as clearly that the "moderate" option was an illusion as well. "Solidarity" did not stand a chance of reaching an agreement with the ruling group, since the concept this group had of an agreement was based on the Stalinist relationship between the state and society. Society, in this sense, comprises the totality of the state's subjects whereas the state may be understood as the property of parti nomenclature.

An illustration of this was provided by the power apparatus after 13 December 1981. The common denominator of its activities was the resolve to liquidate institutional pluralism. The state leadership never intended for a moment to negotiate an agreement with representatives of the people.

The incensed populace, demanding individual and civil rights, reminded one of prisoners revolting against the prison administration. Whatever means that administration might resort to, the end was always the same: restoration of prison regulations.

Thus this was a truly insoluble conflict. The commander of said prison was never ready at any moment to acknowledge the prisoners' rights and the prisoners themselves were never able at any time to accept their status as one ordained by nature.

This insight should also serve as a lesson for the proponents of an "agreement at any price"—which includes my own position as well. I, too, believed in the possibility of a "Polish miracle."

It was only in prison that this became clear to me. Only here—where I have gotten to know prison officials and members of the secret police—did I begin to understand that universal conflict is the only genuine relationship which can exist between prisoners and their guards in the most progressive system.

Do these remarks indicate that "Solidarity" should not aim for an agreement with the government or that such an agreement cannot be reached in the future ?

That would be dead wrong. The prison I am talking about was located (if I may mix my metaphors) on a sinking ship. Under such circumstances, a change in the relationship between the guards and the prisoners was at least conceivable.

But things worked out differently. In December 1981, the guards locked the prisoners in barred rooms and the ship started to drift because it could not move with its engines out of order. It is still drifting today.

But today things are no longer the way they were the day before yesterday. In the course of their 15 months of restricted freedom the prisoners have learned a great deal. These months have taught us the lesson that a people may not only serve as the object of history but act as its subject. There has been an unusual spiritual rebirth of the nation. Even if the "Solidarity" people had nothing to expect in life any more, every one of them could say to himself that he has lived like a human being and not like an animal these past months.

The Poles are often accused of being romantics, unwilling to accept existing power relationships.

A prisoner wishing to obtain his freedom has to be a romantic. He must measure his strength against his intentions; he must wish for the impossible and make courage part of his grasp of reality. Only after one has become aware of this set of circumstances, which our yammering party journalists carefully tend to skirt, one may ask the question whether and to which extent the stereotype of "Polish insanity," of the Polish cavalry officer who rides a charge against tanks with his saber drawn has been borne out by the events of the last several years.

Without a doubt, these events have strengthened the conviction that the Poles would never accept slavery and would never become prisoners of their own free will. The courage of the cavalry officer of yesteryear is complemented in our day and age by great composure. In looking at our goals, we measure our own strength against our intentions and in looking at the possibility of realizing them, we measure our intentions against our strength.

Since 1976, the Poles have by no means been tending toward insanity. They are demonstrating a desire for freedom which combines a surprising political instinct with a clear understanding of the realities of our time.

Suffice it to say that none of the peoples conquered by communism has created as broad, as diversified and effective a model of resistance as these very "romantics" of whom it used to be said that they "love to die."

This applies above all to the situation which arose after the proclamation of martial law. The leading "Solidarity" figures and other spokesmen for public opinion have correctly read the aims of Jaruzelski's policies; they have correctly assessed the power relationships and have adopted a course of action which has proven very effective. Two years of military government have not succeeded in smashing social resistance.

One might also say that Jaruzelski has implemented the scenario which "Solidarity" anticipated and proved thereby that the union had good reason to doubt his statements promising a "continuation of the renewal." According to this scenario, the government would aim for a liquidation of pluralism, independence and self-administration and would gradually subordinate social life to total control—and that is exactly what happened.

The islands of freedom which had been created between August 1980 and December 1981 could not be saved through any compromises whatever. The "Solidarity" functionaries and those of the artists' associations were faced with the choice of either putting an end to the independence of their organizations of their own accord or to leave that job to the party and army commissars.

They opted for resistance, truth and dignity. This much needs to be said: the journalists and university deans; the film makers and writers did not prostitute themselves. And by their actions they wrote a marvelous page into the history book of the Polish intelligentsia and gave proof of their loyalty to the best of our national heritage.

This are no empty words. When Cardinal Wyszynski decided in favor of resistance in 1953, he saved Poland's Catholic church. Through their resistance today, Poland's artists and intellectuals saved the honor of our national culture as well as its inherent meaning.

Economic conditions are as bad as they were in 1981 and at the end of 2 years of military government, one can no longer make the Gierek-Jaroszewicz team responsible for the shortages of meat and butter; tea and coffee and of cheese and twine. And for that matter, nor can one blame strike-happy "Solidarity" for these shortages, either.

The re-introduction of butter and margarine rationing and Jaruzelski's statement to CEMA that it is getting very difficult to meet the needs for meat—all these things are indications that the economic situation is worse than the average citizen might assume.

Soviet aid has not helped overcome the crisis and the ruling generals are beginning to realize that the Kremlin leaders are in a position to send tanks to Poland at the drop of a hat but that collar credits can only be obtained from the hated Americans.

In the absence of credits and reforms, the crisis cannot be solved over the next several years. The key to solving it lies in an agreement with the people. No one has ever succeeded in raising productivity with the help of thundering rhetoric and brutal oppression.

The traditional party apparatus quite naturally inclines toward tried and true methods of past epochs and thereby offers a logical basis for the "concrete heads." The apparatus is suspicious of party chief Jaruzelski because the general has placed his military colleagues in pivotal positions in the party and the administration.

Generals and colonels are in charge of major departments of the central committee and of vojvodship party committees; they have become provincial governors and cabinet ministers. They are constantly growing in number and there is no indication that they intend to give up these posts anytime soon.

Quite the contrary. There is a new propaganda slogan out which says that "soldiers are supremely suited to carry out non-military assignments;" that "part of the military cadres have strengthened the party and government institutions over the long term." Here is what Colonel Stanislaw



Jankowski, the organizer of the new "Center for Social Research" and one of Jaruzelski's confidants, has written. "The present apparatus consists primarily of party officials who are used to office work only. These cadres of onetime professional revolutionaries are incapable today of resisting our adversaries."

The apparatus reached the boiling point as a result of this attack of the colonel's. One of the officials reminded their military critic of the fact that it was the "apparatchiks" who risked their lives when they had to face the people after the events of 13 December. The military men did so only "on rare occasions," he said. These polemics are an indication of the vehemence of the conflict.

The conflict does not so much relate to the methods by which power is exercised. The generals may be somewhat less doctrinaire but by no means more liberal than the "concrete heads" of the party. In the main, the conflict revolves around the lucrative posts at issue.

There is a joke making the rounds in Poland which says that the generals and the "concrete heads" are at bottom fighting about the farm issue. The generals would really like to plow the "concrete heads" under whereas the "concrete heads" feel that this is something that should be reserved for the military men.

Since Jaruzelski has turned out to be unable to isolate the self-appointed custodians of Marxism-Leninism politically, they will either force him to adopt their own policy dedicated to "no quarter given no matter what" or they will cut his throat at some opportune moment.

Anyone wishing to understand the nomenclature world which is fighting against the people will have to take time to study the works of Joseph Stalin.

Not too long ago, this great benefactor was cited in an official address given in Warsaw on the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. The speaker was Stefan Olszowski, a member of the Politburo and at present the foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic. While speaking about the Yalta agreements and various statements made by Stalin at Yalta, he carelessly reminded the Polish people which people and which circumstances they have to thank for getting under communist domination.

Stalin was a genius. No one but he succeeded in such a deadly fashion in smashing the social weave. No one but he built up the governmental and legal theory of the most progressive system with such astounding vision. Stalin's idea was to build a state that would not be imperiled by any islands of freedom—a prison community based on theoretical models with Stalin himself serving both as its god and its high priest.

Stalin—one of the greatest criminals of the 20th century—was a realist. Contrary to the many interpretations which trace his actions to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, he was in fact bound by no orthodoxy at all. It was he who pronounced the dogmas in order to solidify his apparatus which was a cross between a religious sect and a gang of criminals.

Let us repeat: Stalin was a realist. He only attacked those weaker than he. One merely has to think—certainly not without horror—of what this man did to the Russian Orthodox Church. Every Christian who worries about world peace today should also stop to consider that particular Stalinist lesson concerning peaceful coexistence between the Christian church and the communist state. This recollection is of special significance with regard to present-day relations between the state and the church in Poland.

One thing is certain. The times of illusory sweetness and light are over. The state leadership fears the church. It is aware of the fact that social resistance will continue unbroken as long as the church remains intact.

That is why the government's attacks against the church will increase—one should not harbor any illusions about that. For a time, the attacks may be dampened but they will continue until the Catholic Church of Poland toes the line like its orthodox sister church in the Soviet Union. A head of church who orders his priests to preach against "Solidarity" from every pulpit in the land—that is the generals' dream of national reconciliation.

Without a doubt, the "Solidarity" underground has reason to be proud of itself. In spite of 2 years of repression, manhunts and court verdicts, there does exist an organized underground structure including a headquarters and regional associations throughout Poland. That is a phenomenon without parallel in the history of the "most progressive system." And there is no doubt but that this movement will, after a certain period of time and under favorable conditions, force the state leadership to respect the popular will or perhaps even to resign.

Over the past 2 years we have seen the military dictatorship evolve in the direction of a "self-limiting counterrevolution." In December 1981, the generals were moving toward confrontation, toward a "shooting war" which they surely would have won. The level-headed type of resistance offered by Polish society forced them into a "cold civil war." Which they will lose—if not today, then tomorrow.

The patriotic watchword for now is not to die for Poland but to live for Poland. In other words, it is the strategy of the "long march" which I consider to be the only correct one—as I always have. The upcoming elections to the Sejm and the national councils—unless they are once more postponed—should afford "Solidarity" an opportunity to propose alternative programs. Thus, a boycott of the elections proclaimed by "Solidarity" would not only amount to an act of refusal but also to an option for a positive program to overcome the crisis.

Any program for a rapprochement between the government and society will have to be spelled out anew—not in order to spread the illusion in Poland that such a rapprochement is possible today but rather in order not to let an opportunity go by, if Jaruzelski and his followers leave their posts to which they are still clinging.

The resignation of those responsible for the present political crisis is unavoidable, if Poland is to overcome the crisis. Just as the August 1980 agreement became possible as a result of the resignation of party chief Edward Gierek, the precondition for any future agreement is the resignation of the Jaruzelski team.

I do not doubt for a moment but that the nation will present a much higher bill to the Jaruzelski team than it did to the Gierek team. In the course of their rule our generals have done a much better job of ruining the country than the Gierek people did in their 10 years.

The generals are speculating on getting dollars from the West which should contribute to an improvement of the economic situation and as a consequence to support by the populace of their rule. But the generals are mistaken. The path both to the dollars and to popular recognition only goes by way of a rapprochement with society. Jaruzelski's successor will have to keep that in mind very carefully.

With regard to any such rapprochement the Soviets are not so much concerned about possible ideological deviations. What they are afraid of is a "counterrevolution," a popular uprising against communist domination. That fear is well-founded. But it is a moot point whether the Kremlin is thinking not only in terms of using force but also of reaching a compromise.

The Soviet leaders are unable to turn Poland into a show window of their economic aid. But they could turn Poland into a show window of their readiness to resolve international conflicts peacefully. That, no doubt, takes courage and imagination. But without courage and imagination the present crisis cannot be overcome under any circumstances.

In this light, the role of "Solidarity" should not be underestimated. It has proven that a lasting detente in Europe cannot be achieved without respect for the Polish will to freedom.

The generals have done this movement a favor—whether they meant to or not. Their repressive measures have rid the movement of careerists. By persecuting "Solidarity," they contributed to its purification.

They are making us more perfect while they themselves are taking course toward their certain political ruination. I have learned something about the odd paradox of a man who has had almost everything taken away from him and who can therefore concentrate on the essentials. The result of this experience are the reflections I have set down here. They may also be viewed as my response to an offer I have received several times: to go free in exchange for leaving the country.

In a word--no. I have no intention of leaving Poland. I will not exchange my cell in Mokotow Prison in Warsaw for an apartment in Vienna or Paris.

Adam Czartoryski, one of the great Poles of the 19th century, used to say: "Do what you must do. It will be what can be."

Michnik's Letter to Interior Minister

Dear General, you have made me a strange offer: I could either spend Christmas on the Cote d'Azur or would have to face a trial and a long prison term. You warned me that once the state leadership "has swallowed this toad"--which is to say after the trial---there would be no question of my leaving the country any more.

I have come to the conclusion, Sir, that by making this offer you are admitting that I have done nothing to make a law-abiding prosecutor accuse me of having prepared the violent overthrow of the system or of having weakened its defensive capability and to make a law-abiding court convict me.

I am of the same opinion.

By making this offer, you are admitting that the verdict was agreed upon far in advance of the start of the trial.

I am of the same opinion.

You are admitting that the indictment worked out by a docile prosecutor and the verdict to be pronounced by docile judges must make so little sense that no one will be convinced by them and that they will do the accused honor while possibly bringing disgrace upon the judges as well as their superiors.

I am of the same opinion.

But this is where we reach a parting of the ways because I am of the opinion that:

1. if one admits in such an undisguised fashion that one is riding roughshod over the law, then one must be something of an idiot;
2. if, as a prison warden, one offers a man one has held in prison for 2 years to commit moral suicide in exchange for the Cote d'Azur, then one must be a swine;
3. if one believes that I would accept such an offer, then one must take every human being to be a police spy.

I know full well, General, why you are so intent on our leaving the country. It would give you a chance to vilify us even more; to make us out as people who first carried out foreign assignments and who have now opted for capitalist luxuries.

You want us to leave in order to be able to show that you are an upstanding liberal and that we are Milquetoasts without moral fiber; so that you can tell the Polish people: "Look at them! They have capitulated. Even they have given up their belief in a free and democratic Poland."

You want us to leave above all in order to improve your image in your own eyes; in order to be able to say with some relief: "When it is all said and done, they are no better than I."

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CEAUSESCU RECEIVES PALESTINIAN LEADER HAWATIMAH

AU162047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 16 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Feb 1984. (AGERPRES)--On 16 February 1984 Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received a delegation of the Democratic Front for Palestine Liberation headed by Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the DFPL Central Committee, now visiting Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP participated.

The guest expressed full gratitude for the interview and the chance offered to visit Romania and see the achievements of the Romanian people in various fields of activity.

At the same time the general secretary of the DFPL Central Committee thanked vividly for the principled consistent stance of Romania and of President Nicolae Ceausescu himself, that supports actively and permanently the Palestinian people's struggle for gaining their inalienable rights.

Nicolae Ceausescu expressed, in turn, satisfaction at meeting again and talking with the general secretary of the CC of the DFPL.

During the interview the sides laid stress on the good relations of friendship and militant solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the Democratic Front for Palestine Liberation and manifest the joint wish to expand these relations to mutual interest and to the interest of peace, understanding among nations, cooperation and progress throughout the world.

The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and the general secretary of the CC of the DFPL looked into certain aspects of the current international life, particularly the latest developments in the Middle East and the Palestinian issue.

In the context special attention was paid to the ways and means conducive to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted

Romania's considerations according to which attainment of a lasting, just and global peace in that zone of the world cannot be achieved but through Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied consequent to the 1967 war, by solving the problem of the Palestinian people, by exertion of its rights to self-determination and independent statehood.

Both sides pointed out the importance of intensification of the political and diplomatic actions conducive to solving the Palestinian people's issue in agreement with their interests and aspirations, achieving a global peace in the region, pointing out the importance of an international conference on the Palestinian issue to be called under the UN aegis, to be participated in by the interested sides, inclusive of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and all those apt to make a contribution to the peace process in the Middle East.

The interview passed in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

CSO: 2020/69

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES FINNISH ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU162049 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 16 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Feb 1984 (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on Thursday, 16 February, Jussi Montonen, who presented his credentials as ambassador of Finland in Bucharest.

In his address, the ambassador showed that the Finnish Government was highly appreciative of the relations between the two countries, based on a long-standing tradition of friendship and multilateral collaboration.

Highlighting that Romania and Finland shared close stands as concerned the major questions of the international life, the address further underscored that it was one of the positive factors of the development of bilateral exchanges, of strengthening Romanian-Finnish cooperation on the international plane.

The reply address of the Romanian head of state, expressed satisfaction at the ascending course of the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Finland, highlighting that the two countries' economic potential allowed of an even more marked growth of commercial exchanges, the intensification and diversification of industrial, technical-scientific cooperation, as well as of cooperation in other domains.

The address emphasized Romania's special concern for an end to the nuclear race, for curbing the threat of a war, ensuring all people's right to life and free development. Furthermore, it was shown that Romania took consistent action for the promotion of cooperation and security in Europe, it took an active part at the Stockholm conference, and considered that the conference could play a major role in the adoption of tangible measures towards building confidence and strengthening security in the continent, towards a passage to disarmament and, first and foremost, to nuclear disarmament.

The address also pointed out that Romania perseveringly worked so as to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and good neighbourliness, that it also backed the proposals aimed at creating denuclearized zones in central and northern Europe. The meeting occasioned an exchange of greetings between Romania and Finland's presidents.

CSO: 2020/69



ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU GREETED ON RETURN FROM MOSCOW

AU141719 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 14 Feb 84

[Text] The Romanian party and state delegation led by Comrade Nicolae Ceaurescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, returned this evening to Bucharest from its Moscow visit where it participated in Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's funeral. Together with our party and state leader, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee and prime minister of the government, and Miu Dobrescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee, also returned to Bucharest.

On his arrival at Otopeni Airport, Comrade Nicolae Ceaurescu was met by Comrade Elena Ceaurescu and Comrades Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Dinca, Ludovic Fazekas, Alexandrina Gainuse, Manea Manescu, Paul Niculescu, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Georghe Radulescu, Stefan Andrei, Stefan Birlea, Marin Enache, Petru Enache, Mihai Gere, Suzana Gadea, Ana Muresan, Elena Nae, Ion Ursu, Richard Winter, Gheorghe Stoica, Nicu Ceaurescu, and Ion M. Nicolae. [L. I.] Boykoy, USSR charge d'affaires ad-interim to Bucharest, and members of the embassy staff were also present.

CSO: 2700/134

ROMANIAN ROLE IN LIBERATION OF BUDAPEST NOTED

AU131308 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0954 GMT 13 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES--Marking the anniversary of 39 years since Budapest's liberation, the newspaper SCINTEIA runs in its latest issue an article highlighting the significance 13 February has for the Hungarian people.

The newspaper refers to the Romanian army's participation in the "Budapest Operation," which was one of the major military actions of the Second World War.

A recollection of the Romanian soldiers' heroic deeds of 39 years ago is an opportunity to highlight the extensive development of the relations between Romania and Hungary on the most diverse planes--political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural--in the last few decades since the people's power was instituted in the two countries. A productive framework in this respect, SCINTEIA shows, was provided by the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance of 1948, which was followed by the 1972 treaty. A decisive role in the ascending development of the Romanian-Hungarian relations is played by the relations of friendship between the RCP and the HSWP and, in this framework, by the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Janos Kadar, which have opened further prospects to the two countries' collaboration.

Economic collaboration develops, registering fine results. So, for instance, on the basis of the commercial agreement for 1981-1985 and of the understandings concerning the expansion and development of trade, the volume of goods exchanges in the current five-year plan period will be almost four times larger than that recorded over 1971-1975. Significant for the qualitative changes wrought throughout the years in the economic relations between the two countries is the fact that the products manufactured in units of the machine-building industry account for 50 percent of the total volume of exchanges. In the current stage, efforts are being made to further improve the structure of exchanges in keeping with existing possibilities and with the requirement for a more appropriate supply of the two countries' economies with a series of products. Relations on the scientific and cultural planes, as well as in other fields of mutual interest have also developed.

Highlighting the ascending course of collaboration on the 39th anniversary of Budapest's liberation, the peoples of the two neighbor countries harbour

the conviction that the further development of the Romanian-Hungarian relations of friendship undoubtedly is the mutual benefit of the two countries, for the benefit of the general cause of socialism, peace and international understanding, the Bucharest newspaper writes in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/69

ROMANIAN INSTRUCTION IN NATIONAL MINORITY SCHOOLS

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romanian No 12, Dec 83 pp 21-22, 60

[Article by Prof Alexandru Totharsany, Odorheiu Secuiesc Pedagogic Secondary School: "Efficient Methods in Learning the Romanian Language in the Kindergartens and Primary Schools with Teaching in the Languages of the Coinhabiting Nationalities"]

[Text] In socialist Romania, our dear homeland, all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, sex, age and religion, possess equal rights in all fields of political, social and cultural life--therefore, in the field of education as well. The wide system of education, for all our young people, including in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities, constitutes a remarkable result of our party's entire policy on nationalities.

However, the exercise of the complete equality of the coinhabiting nationalities dictates as an objective necessity the learning of the Romanian language, the language of our state. Through perfect knowledge of the Romanian language by all citizens belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities, conditions for perfect equality in rights are created, so that each may have free, unlimited access to all fields of activity. We can thus say that the learning of the Romanian language by all the young people belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities is at once a right and an obligation.

The studying and learning of the Romanian language, like the other disciplines in the educational units where the children of the coinhabiting nationalities study, are done on the basis of a system, with the guiding principles being established by the educational plan and the school programs. Within this system, a special role goes to kindergarten and to primary education. At the end of general schooling, all children belonging to the schools with teaching in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities have the conditions created for correctly speaking and writing Romanian.

An important role in this regard goes to kindergarten. About 10 years ago, activities in the Romanian language were introduced into the preschool units with

teaching in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities, with the aim being for the future pupil to learn in the Romanian language the designation of the most important ideas. Practice has demonstrated the efficiency of this measure. Thus, it has been possible to find that, going into primary education, the children belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities have also learned, in addition to skills in the mother tongue, the basic elements of the Romanian language.

For orienting the kindergarten teachers, the program drawn up by the Ministry of Education and Instruction also provides the minimum number of words that the children must learn (125 words in the small group, 200 in the middle-sized group and 250 in the big group). There have been some conflicting opinions in connection with this volume of words. There are quarters in which it is felt that the volume of words is too small, and in other quarters it is contended that this provision of the program cannot be fulfilled completely. Some kindergarten teachers think of the quantitative results and not the qualitative ones. However, we must not forget that it is not so much the quantity that counts, but the goal: the formation of basic skills of knowledge and speech in the Romanian language. In fact, the program leaves it up to the kindergarten teachers to increase the number of words according to the level of the group. Consequently, the majority of the kindergarten teachers fulfill the provisions of the program in a satisfactory manner.

Among the teachers in these preschool units, there still is a vagueness in the use of the correct methods. There still are cases when some teachers cannot rid themselves of the old, inefficient methods. They still resort too often to the method of translation, since in this way spectacular results are obtained; the child learns--it is true--some words and ideas in a shorter interval. However, it is forgotten that in this way the attainment of one of the major goals--the formation of the sense of language--becomes more difficult.

There is some reticence regarding the utilization of the direct method within these activities. However, practice has demonstrated that the direct method is the only efficient one for learning a new language. Even at this age, the preschool child will become accustomed to not appealing to the mother tongue when he speaks in the Romanian language.

In this regard, the kindergarten teacher is obliged to create a linguistic environment suited to all the activities in the Romanian language, avoiding the use of the mother tongue. However, in order to fulfill this desire, it is advisable to use a wide range of intuitive material to demonstrate the words and ideas that the children are to learn. Of course, play has an important role. It is necessary to introduce into these activities as many teaching games as possible, so that the activity becomes as attractive as possible and so that it is possible to ensure the maximum stimulation of the children.

Sometimes, the provisions of the program are interpreted incorrectly. In the program, it is recommended that the designation of the ideas in the Romanian language be learned by the children after first understanding them in the mother tongue. Some kindergarten teachers understand by this purely and simply the translation of them. However, it goes without saying that all the basic ideas

and words can be learned first by the children in the mother tongue, so that then they may also learn them consciously in the Romanian language.

At other times, there is the tendency for words and ideas in both languages to be learned during the same activity, it being felt that in this way bilingualism is attained more rapidly. However, it is not borne in mind that in precisely this way the method of translation is reached, contrary to the requirements of the direct method.

In some cases, another provision of the program, according to which the ideas in the Romanian language must also be taught outside of the mandatory activities, is also interpreted incorrectly. It is clear that by this the program seeks the practicing of the words and structures learned earlier, in order for them to become verbal automatisms that cannot be attained without doing as many exercises as possible. However, it is not recommended that during these activities the isolated teaching of words be "planned" daily, just so that the children learn as large a number of words as possible, without them being semantized methodically and without these words being conscientized through their integration into linguistic structures.

Within the process of learning the Romanian language, it is also very important that school-kindergarten collaboration be achieved. Many kindergarten teachers have found various ways for the child to adapt more easily to the early primary grades. Not only the mutual assistance between kindergarten teachers and grade-school teachers but also the common activities are very efficient in this regard. Practice has demonstrated that it is useful for the kindergarten teachers to go with the preschoolers in the big group to visit the pupils in the first grade (in the Romanian-language class), a period in which they are involved in a fruitful dialogue in the learning of the Romanian language, especially as there are many common elements between the Romanian-language program in kindergarten and that in the first grade.

The teaching of the Romanian language in the primary grades can be regarded as a higher stage in the learning of the Romanian language by the children belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities. Reaching the first grade, the pupil already has certain skills of speech in the Romanian language formed. Since kindergarten has taken over many of the tasks of the first grade with regard to developing the speech of the pupils in the Romanian language, for a few years the teaching of the basic elements of reading and writing in the Romanian language, beginning with the final weeks of the second quarter of the school year, has been done in this grade. The program provides that 10 letters, specific to the Romanian language, some of them identical in sound but different in appearance, are to be learned at this time.

The reading of diphthongs, triphthongs and the letters "a" and "e" is a methodical aspect that is worth noting. Due to interference, the pupils read the diphthongs in two syllables and the triphthongs in three syllables, because these letters (sounds) do not exist in the mother tongue. The mistakes must be corrected immediately, since they quite rapidly become bad language habits, which can be very hard to correct.

Another frequent mistake is observed in the pronunciation and reading of the sounds specific to the Romanian language, there often being interference with them in the pronunciation of the children from the sounds "o" and "u" in the Hungarian language. The many pronunciation exercises and, if necessary, the insistence on explaining to the pupils even the way of forming the sounds offer us the remedy. Because it is not enough to correct the mistake; the pupil should repeat the correct forms as often as possible.

In all the primary grades, conversation is of great importance, if, of course, it is interesting and stimulates the pupils to practice speaking. Some teachers illustrate the topic of the conversation with drawings. The method has proved to be very useful, since it facilitates semanticization and offers the children the possibility of satisfying their desire for movement. The drawings are put on the blackboard simultaneously with the course and topic of the conversation, there thus being the possibility of also defining the words that designate actions or states hard to semanticize through the direct method.

The learning of the spoken Romanian language is a basic task of the school. In this regard, many grade-school teachers insert into the Romanian-language classes intervals of conversation, for 5-6 minutes, with topics from the practice of the life cherished by the pupils, which ensure their maximum participation in the classes.

Other incorrect practices still persist, such as the isolated teaching of words or the mechanical memorization of rhymes "in chorus." This practice is contraindicated, since it is not possible to tell whether or not all the pupils are correctly pronouncing some sounds (words), which causes bad language habits to be formed through mechanical repetition.

We have noted with satisfaction that the teaching of the Romanian language in the kindergartens with teaching in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities is registering real progress. If all the factors (kindergarten teachers, grade-school teachers, and professors) will collaborate for the future with interest, the premise exists for all the pupils who study in the schools with teaching in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities to thoroughly learn the Romanian language--that is, not only to write and read but also to speak and think in the Romanian language.

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CS0: 2700/129

DECREE ON PAID MEDICAL SERVICES EXPLAINED

Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 20 Jan 84 p 8

[Interview with lecturer Dr Alexandru Oproiu, deputy minister of health, by Viorica Petrescu]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Minister, we have been informed about all the provisions of Decree 279/1983 which regulates paid medical care. We ask you to give us some details concerning the application of this new normative act.

[Answer] First of all, I would like to state that according to the provisions of Law 3/1978 and of Decree 246/1958, the state provides for the whole population unlimited access to medical care, free of charge, under conditions provided by the law, with the network of health units organized on a territorial basis or on the basis of worksites. The medical care given in dispensaries, dispensary-polyclinics and hospitals, free of charge, remains a principal form of providing medical services. Every worker is provided free of medical care in all the territorial health units. In addition, if the patient's disease necessitates special investigation or the application of some highly specialized methods of treatment in a hospital clinic, center or medical institution with beds, he can be admitted free of charge, with an admission slip given by doctors from the county, municipal or city polyclinics and hospitals.

In order not to delay the diagnosis, the Ministry of Health has specified, according to Law 3/1978 that doctors of general medicine in enterprise dispensaries, in urban or rural dispensaries may also send patients to extra-territorial hospital units for hospitalization. We are talking about patients who have been hospitalized in hospitals and health clinic departments which have a convalescence program, patients with diseases for which there are no specialists in the area, as well as patients who were hospitalized in the territorial hospital units, but who have not been helped at that level. Also, emergency medical assistance is free, regardless of the residence or the place of employment of the patient.

Decree No 279/1983 which you want me to discuss was issued for the purpose of continuously increasing the access of the population to all forms of medical care, in order to give all the citizens the opportunity, in case of sickness, to choose the health unit preferred and the physician preferred. In addition to this, the sick will also be able to get consultations with different



physicians, specialists or professors, on the basis of preferences expressed and at polyclinics charging a fee, which will soon be in operation.

[Question] You have told us about patients who benefit from free services. What can you tell us about medical care in the hospital which is provided at cost?

[Answer] If the patient is hospitalized by request, choosing the health unit he prefers, he will have to pay certain hospitalization expenses. I say certain, because this refers only to accommodations, meals and care. In order to benefit from the provisions of Article 24 of Decree 279/1983 regarding the determination of these expenses, the patient will have to present proof that he is a worker, a pension check stub or other documents providing proof. In the case of hospitalization at request the admission slip is not necessary. It is necessary to mention that this hospitalization is executed only on the advice of the physician who is head of the department and the approval of the physician who is director of the unit. In the same way, the patients who wish to remain under medical supervision during the period of convalescence can, at request, continue to be hospitalized at cost, for a period of sick leave or rest leave, granted under legal conditions.

[Question] With the belief that your clarifications are edifying for readers, we thank you.

CSO: 2700/136

LAW ON WORKER CONTROL COUNCIL REPUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 1, 6 Jan 84 pp 1-7

[Republished\*. Law No 15/1972 on the Organization and Operation of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity]

[Text] Completion of the complex tasks outlined by the 10th Congress and the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party of July 1972 on the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in our homeland necessarily requires exercise of all-embracing control in all areas, so that society may permanently estimate the manner in which the assignments under the uniform national plan for the socioeconomic development of the country are being implemented, the way in which the activity of production, investment, foreign and domestic trade is unfolding, the way in which the material and financial assets are being managed, the manner in which the collectives of working people and executive cadres in economic and social sectors are accomplishing their tasks.

Control, as an integral and mandatory part of management work, must ensure thorough knowledge and strict implementation of party decisions and laws of this country, contribute to the exemplary completion of the tasks of socioeconomic development, to the strengthening of planning discipline, of the spirit of responsibility in administration of the assets entrusted by society, to the protection and prevention of the violation of the integrity of socialist property. Control must be instrumental in upgrading the activity of state and cooperative organs, in drawing the masses of working people into running society, into revealing the causes of shortcomings and violations committed and into adopting the measures to eliminate them and increase efficiency in all the sectors of activity.

\* Republished on the basis of Article II of Decree No 470 of 20 December 1983, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 99 of 22 December 1983, with a new numbering for the articles.

Law No 15/1972 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 161 of 29 December 1972 and also was republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 125 of 25 November 1977.

For the fulfillment of the decisions of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party on strengthening control, eliminations duplications and turning the Economic Council into a powerful party and state organ for uniform control of the implementation of the party decisions and country's laws in the sectors of socio-economic activity, for the purpose of applying the Decision of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party of 20-21 November 1972 on measures to improve party and state control, and to organize the councils of workers' control of economic and social activity,

The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts this law.

#### Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity is organized and operates as a party and state organ, under the direct guidance of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with the task of supervising in a uniform manner, in the overall economy, for the various branches and territorially, the accomplishment of the economic and social policy of the party and state, the implementation of party decisions and the laws adopted by the Grand National Assembly, of the decrees and decisions of the Council of State, and of the decisions of the Council of Ministers, in the sectors of socioeconomic activity.

Control is a factor in strengthening order and discipline, the spirit of responsibility and strictness in completion of tasks, in preventing negative phenomena, departures from and violations of legal provisions in force, so that the entire economic and social life may develop in accordance with the party decisions and the country's laws.

The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity gives support to the bodies of collective leadership in establishing and applying measures to eliminate deficiencies and upgrade activity in the sectors controlled, works for the concrete and effective resolution, on the spot, of problems pertaining to full and proper completion of the tasks allotted the socialist units under the uniform national plan.

Article 2. Subject to control of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity are the ministries, the other central bodies of state administration, the local bodies of state administration, the centrals and other centralized units, the enterprises, other units with economic and social activity, and the co-operative organizations.

Article 3. On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity controls the application, by the local party organs, of the party decisions and the country's laws on the economic and social activity of counties, municipalities, towns and communes.

The conclusions and proposals resulting from these controls shall be submitted to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

Article 4. The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity conducts projects of control and analysis on the course of development of the national economy and reports to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Council of State on its findings and the measures proposed to resolve the problems pertaining to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan and upgrading of the economic and social activity.

The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity notifies the Council of Ministers of the chief deficiencies in economic and social activity found during the controls conducted and suggests measures to eliminate them and prevent them in the future.

Article 5. The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity ensures the orientation and exercises the uniform coordination of the activity of the state specialized control inspections indicated in Appendix No 1, which is an integral part of this law. The state specialized control inspections are subordinate to the central bodies of state administration under which they operate, and to the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity, being required to submit to it work programs, reports of activity, and, on request, any other projects that are currently worked out by them.

In order to ensure the coordination of the activity of state specialized control inspections, the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity cooperates with the Higher Court of Financial Control, the ministries and the other central bodies, and with the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania.

Chapter II. Powers.

Article 6. The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity has the following powers:

- a. Controls the course of development of the national economy in accordance with the tasks approved under the uniform national plan for socioeconomic development of the country;
- b. Controls the implementation by the ministries, the other central bodies of state administration, the local bodies of state administration, enterprises, centrals and other centralized units, other units with economic and social activity, and cooperative organizations, of the measures outlined by the party and state leadership, on the fulfillment of the assignments under the uniform national plan, the utilization of the resources of raw materials, supplies and manpower, the modernization of the structure of production, the upgrading of the technical and qualitative standards of products, the concentration, specialization and cooperation of enterprises, the efficient use of fixed assets, the reduction of production costs and increase in profitability;
- c. Monitors and controls the implementation of party decisions and state laws on the development of foreign trade and increase in the efficiency of this activity; monitors and controls the implementation of the measures on economic and technicoscientific collaboration and cooperation;
- d. Controls the manner of implementing the party decisions and state laws in the area of agrarian economy; monitors the economic-financial results of the activity in agriculture, the production costs and consumption rates in agricultural units, the management and utilization of land resources and of the technicomaterial base, the progress of investment projects, irrigation projects and development of industrial activities in state agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives;
- e. Controls the efficient use of investment funds for the completion of industrial and agrozootechnical production facilities, of sociocultural facilities, the fulfillment of the plan of investments, construction-assembly, completion and attainment of planned parameters, implementation of the measures established for reduction of consumption rates for raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy and of the costs of projects, shortening of the construction cycles and raising of the economic efficiency of investment projects;
- f. Controls the efficient use of the potential of research, engineering and design and the application in production of the results of scientific research; controls the utilization of the licenses obtained from abroad;
- g. Controls the way of implementing the decisions and programs of measures for the protection of the environment;
- h. Controls the way of carrying out the decisions on the improvement of the standards of living, the utilization of the fund for consumption in the form of direct incomes and social funds; exercises control on the implementation of the party and state policy in the area of prices and tariffs, on the way in which supplies to the population and services unfold;
- i. Controls the implementation of the program established in regard to the training and advancement of cadres, in accordance with the needs for the socioeconomic development of this country;
- j. Conducts analyses and surveys for a profound study of phenomena resulting from the exercise of control pertaining to socioeconomic development and increase in economic efficiency, for the purpose of outlining approaches and measures to upgrade economic and social activity;
- k. Controls the implementation of measures to upgrade the organization and planned management of economic and social activity;
- l. Approves, in conjunction with the Council of Ministers, the plan of complex controls of production, technical, economic and financial activity and the plan of thematic controls with a duration that is longer than 3 days, conducted by central bodies of synthesis and economic ministries in socialist units, ensuring its correlation with the provisions of the uniform control plan approved by the party leadership;
- m. Exercises uniform coordination of the activity of state specialized control inspections for the purpose of achieving greater efficiency and avoiding duplications, overlappings or repeated controls, to this end formulating methodological norms;

n. Exercises guidance and coordination of the activity of councils of counties and of Bucharest Municipality for workers' control of economic and social activity; together with them, organizes projects of control over the economic and social activity that develops in counties, municipalities, towns and communes.

For the completion of some control projects, the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity cooperates, in light of the nature of the problems surveyed, with the State Planning Committee, the Council of Economic and Social Organization, the Higher Court of Financial Control, the financial-banking central organs and the economic ministries.

Article 7. In the exercise of its powers, the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity is entitled to:

- a. Give mandatory instructions for the elimination of deficiencies in the activity of the units controlled;
- b. Suspend the implementation of measures taken by the units controlled, that do not conform with the legal provisions in effect.

The measures established by the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity are mandatory for the units controlled and are brought to the knowledge of the leading bodies of ministries and the other central organs which are required to ensure their implementation.

Article 8. In the instances in which the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity, in the exercise of its powers, finds violations of legal provisions on management, conservation and evidence of the material and financial assets entrusted by society, failure to comply with planning and contractual discipline and nonfulfillment of other legal obligations, it is entitled to:

- a. Directly apply disciplinary punitive actions specified by the labor code or order the application of these punitive actions by the head of the socialist unit controlled or, as the case may be, by the hierarchically higher leader of that unit;
- b. Order or recommend the removal from office of the persons guilty of serious violations of the party and state decisions, a measure which must be carried out by the proper organs, under the legal provisions;
- c. Order the taking, by the head of the socialist unit controlled, of the measures required for determining material liability in case of causing damages to public property and for recouping these damages.

The organs that were informed about the measures under (a)-(c) are required, within 15 days, to inform the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity about the measures taken;

- d. Impose on the persons guilty of failing to take one of the measures specified under (a), (b) and (c) a fine equal to the basic pay for at most 3 months;
- e. Propose to the proper organs the dismissal of the persons that hold an elective office, and also of those appointed by a presidential decree or a decision of the Council of Ministers;
- f. Notify the Higher Court of Financial Control, to the extent that the actions constitute violations which fall within the competence of this court, for the application of the punitive actions and of other measures provided by the penal code;
- g. Notify the prosecution bodies, if the deed is provided by the penal code.

Article 9. Against the punitive actions applied directly under Article 8 one may introduce a contestation, within 30 days after the date of taking cognizance, to the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity, with its executive bureau subsequently deciding. In the event that the persons involved are dissatisfied they may apply to the party and state organs that are superior to the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity.

In the case of disciplinary punitive actions, applied by the other organs, the complaint shall be resolved in accordance with the labor code.

Article 10. The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity and the other organs that exercise control are responsible, under the law, for the measures ordered or proposed within the framework of the activity of control and monitor the way in which these measures are implemented.

### Chapter III. Organization and Operation.

Article 11. The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity is composed of a number of 65 members and is made up of a chairman, vice chairmen, a secretary of state and members appointed by a presidential decree. The composition of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity shall include party workers, executives from ministries and the other central bodies, representatives of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania and of branch trade unions, representatives of the Union of Communist Youth and of the National Council of Women, chairmen and vice chairmen of county councils of workers' control of economic and social activity, heads of state specialized control central inspections, managers of industrial centrals and enterprises, scientists, teachers from higher education, and a number of 23 workers and foremen who are directly involved in production, designated at the general assemblies of working people for a 5-year period.

The chairman, the vice chairmen and the secretary of state make up the Executive Bureau of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity.

For the implementation of the tasks allotted, the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity has its own apparatus.

Article 12. For the purpose of completing its tasks, the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity is entitled to ask the ministries and the other central bodies, the executive committees or bureaus of people's councils and the units that are subordinate to them, for reports, statistical accounts and any other documents pertaining to the problems covered by the activity of control. The units mentioned are required to provide the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity with the documents requested and support the unfolding of the activity of control.

The Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity may organize complex collectives and teams of control formed from their own apparatus and of experts from any fields and sectors of activity designated with the agreement of the heads of the socialist units to which they belong.

The conclusions and measures resulting from the activities of the complex collectives and teams of control of economic and social activity are subject to debate of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity or, as the case may be, of the executive bureau that decide on them.

### Chapter IV. County Councils of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity

Article 13. County and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity shall be organized for counties and Bucharest Municipality.

The county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity -- party and state organs -- unfold their activity under the direct guidance of party committees of counties or of Bucharest Municipality and of people's councils of counties or of Bucharest Municipality, also being subordinate to the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity.

Article 14. The county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity control the territorial implementation of party decisions, of laws, decrees of the Council of State, decisions of the Council of Ministers, and of the decisions adopted by local party and state organs, reporting to the party committees of counties and of Bucharest Municipality the conclusions resulting from the controls conducted and the necessary measures.

The county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity control the attainment of the indicators of the plan of production, investments, foreign trade, the implementation by centrals, enterprises, cooperative organizations, construction sites and other economic units, of the measures regarding the use of production capacity, the utilization of resources of raw materials, improvement of product quality, reduction of production costs, increase in the efficiency of economic activity; they give support to party organs and organizations and councils of working people in socialist units to upgrade the management of economic and social activity and promptly resolve the problems that arise in completing the plan assignments and the pledges to exceed them.

The county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity complete analyses and surveys and formulate proposals for the economic and social development of counties and of Bucharest Municipality; their aim is through the territorial draft plan to ensure the implementation of the party decisions on the best possible utilization of material and human resources and the continuous upgrading of the working and living conditions of people in the county involved.

The county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity guide the activity of councils of municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity, and also the activity of councils of workers' control of economic and social activity in economic units.

Article 15. The county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity are formed of a number of 35-41 members and include a chairman, a vice chairman and members; the function of chairman of the council is fulfilled by the secretary in charge of economic affairs of the party committee of counties and Bucharest Municipality, who also is the vice chairman of the executive committee of the people's council.

These councils shall include members of the county party committees and of the executive committee of the county people's council, party workers, cadres with responsible jobs and experts from enterprises, centrals and county bodies of synthesis, representatives of the county council of trade unions and of the county committee of women, of the county committee of the Union of Communist Youth, chairmen of councils of municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control, heads of territorial state specialized control inspections, teachers, and a number of 12-15 workers and foremen who are directly involved in production, designated at the general assemblies of working people for a 5-year period.

The composition of the county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity shall be approved by the party committees and people's councils of counties and Bucharest Municipality.

The chairman, vice chairman and 3-5 members make up the executive bureau of county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity.

For the implementation of the tasks allotted them the county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity have their own apparatus.

Article 16. The county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity may correspondingly take measures and apply punitive actions provided for in Article 7 and Article 8 (a), (c), (d) and (g); also, they may suggest, as the case may be, to the local bodies under whose subordination the units controlled operate or the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity, in the case of the other units, the removal from office of the executive cadres in the socialist units controlled, that were guilty of serious violations of party and state decisions.

The provisions under Article 9 shall be applied correspondingly also to county councils of workers' control of economic and social activity.

#### Chapter V. Councils of Municipalities, of Sectors of Bucharest Municipality and of Towns for Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity

Article 17. For municipalities, sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns there shall be organized councils of workers' control of economic and social activity -- party and state organs -- that unfold their activity under the direct guidance of party committees and people's councils of municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and of towns. These councils are subordinate also to councils of counties, respectively of Bucharest Municipality, for workers' control of economic and social activity.

Article 18. The councils of municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and of towns for workers' control of economic and social activity control and give support to economic and sociocultural units under their jurisdiction administratively and territorially, in the implementation of party decisions, of the laws and of the other regulatory acts on: implementation of the tasks under the national plan for industrial production, in agriculture, investment projects, export, supplies to the population, services; completion of tasks of increasing labor productivity; utilization of production capacity; integration of technological advances and improvement of product quality; lowering of use of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy; reduction of production costs and raising of profitability, and other matters in the area of economic and social activity.

The councils of municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity shall report to the proper party committees on the conclusions resulting from the controls conducted and the measures required.

Article 19. The councils of municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity are formed of 17-31 members and are made up of a chairman, a vice chairman and members; the function of chairman of the council is fulfilled, for municipalities, sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns category I, by the secretary in charge of economic affairs of the party committee involved, who also is the vice chairman of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council. For towns categories II and III, the function of chairman of the council is fulfilled by one of the deputy secretaries of the party committee involved.

The councils shall include members of the party committee and of the executive committee, respectively, bureau of the people's council, party workers, cadres with responsible jobs and experts from economic and sociocultural units, representatives of trade union, Union of Communist Youth and women organizations, chairmen of councils of workers' control from economic units, teaching personnel, and a number of 7-14 workers and foremen directly involved in production, designated at the general assemblies of working people for a two and a half year period.

The composition of these councils shall be approved by party committees and people's councils of municipalities, sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns.

For prompt conduct of activity in councils of municipalities, sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control, an executive bureau shall be constituted, formed of a chairman, a vice chairman and 3-5 members.

Article 20. The councils of municipalities, sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity may correspondingly take the measures and apply the punitive actions provided for in Article 7 and Article 8 (a) and (c); moreover, they may suggest, as the case may be, to the county and Bucharest Municipality councils of workers' control of economic and social activity the application of the measures provided for in Article 8 (d) and (g).

The provisions of Article 9 shall be applied correspondingly also to councils of municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity.

#### Chapter VI. Councils of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity

Article 21. In industrial, transportation, construction and commercial enterprises, state agricultural enterprises and stations for the mechanization of agriculture, in other state economic units, and in research and design institutes, councils of workers' control of economic and social activity shall be organized.

The councils of workers' control of economic and social activity operate under the direct guidance of party committees or bureaus of party branches -- where party committees have not been constituted in the units involved -- and also are subordinate to councils of towns, sectors of Bucharest Municipality, municipalities or, as the case may be, counties and Bucharest Municipality, for workers' control of economic and social activity.

Article 22. The councils of workers' control of economic and social activity carry out control of: the economic and social activity of enterprises, design and research institutes, attainment of production plan indicators, use of production capacity, product quality and following of production technologies, administration of material and financial resources.

Moreover, the councils of workers' control of economic and social activity shall monitor and control: implementation of the provisions in collective labor contracts; application of labor safety technique and labor hygiene regulations; proper operation of dispensaries, polyclinics, hospitals, cafeterias, hostels for single people, creches and kindergartens that operate within the framework of the units involved; the procedure for handling the suggestions made at the general assemblies of working people and the meetings of trade union groups; handling of the matters notified by working people through the mail and audiences, and any other matters regarding relationships and working and social conditions in the unit involved.

The councils of workers' control shall work for the development of a progressive attitude to work, for the encouragement of the creative initiatives of working people in completing economic and social tasks, saving raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy, promoting technological advances, for the combating of the manifestations of indifference, negligence and lack of responsibility.

Article 23. The councils of workers' control of economic and social activity shall be made up of highly skilled workers, with long experience in production, the ablest engineers, foremen, technicians, economists and other specialized personnel. In light of the size of the units, the councils shall number 11-21 members, including 5-10 workers, foremen and technicians.



The function of chairman of the council shall be fulfilled by the deputy secretary in charge of economic affairs of the party committee in the unit involved or by one of the members of the bureau of the party branch -- where party committees have not been constituted.

The nominal composition of the councils of workers' control of economic and social activity in socialist units shall be approved by the party organs involved and by the general assemblies of working people, for a two and a half year period.

In fulfilling the duties assigned to them, the councils of workers' control may also draw other working people who are not members of these councils.

Article 24. The councils of workers' control of economic and social activity shall conduct a civic activity, based on a work program.

Article 25. The councils of workers' control of economic and social activity shall suggest to party committees or bureaus of party branches measures to upgrade economic and social activity in socialist units that, together with the councils of working people, ensure their implementation.

Furthermore, the councils of workers' control of economic and social activity in socialist units shall suggest to the councils of towns, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality, municipalities or, as the case may be, to the councils of counties and of Bucharest Municipality for workers' control of economic and social activity the taking of measures to improve economic and social activity or the imposition of punitive actions on the persons guilty of violation of party and state decisions.

#### Chapter VII. Cooperation Among Councils of Workers' Control and Units of Working People's Control

Article 26. The councils of workers' control of economic and social activity organize projects of control in conjunction with the units of working people's control on the implementation of party decisions and application of laws in the areas of: supplies to the population, services for the population, maintenance and repairs of housing resources, public transportation, medical service, utilization of the technical and material base and management of facilities for education, culture, sports and social work, following of labor safety regulations, protection and conservation of the environment.

Article 27. For the purpose of ensuring a rational inclusion of economic and social units in control, avoidance of duplications and uniform coordination of projects organized by workers' control with those of working people's control, the Central Council, the councils of counties, municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity shall cooperate with the councils of Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

The vice chairmen of the councils of counties, municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity shall also fulfill the function of chairman of commissions of counties, municipalities, of sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front for the coordination and guidance of working people's control activity.

Article 28. The Central Council, the councils of counties, municipalities, sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity shall examine the notifications and suggestions of working people's control units and shall determine, in compliance with the powers provided for in this law, measures to eliminate the deficiencies, improve the activity and punish the persons guilty of violations of legal provisions.

#### Chapter VIII. Uniform Control Book

Article 29. In ministries, the other central organs and organizations, executive committees or bureaus of people's councils, centrals and other centralized units, enterprises, state institutions, cooperative and civic units, and in their subunits, established by the hierarchically superior organs or organizations, there shall be set up the uniform control book, in accordance with the model provided for in Appendix No 2, which is an integral part of this law.

Article 30. The uniform control book shall mandatorily record the findings, recommendations and measures ordered by the control bodies of the Central Council, of the councils of counties, of Bucharest Municipality, municipalities, sectors of Bucharest Municipality and towns for workers' control of economic and social activity, state specialized control inspections, and also of other persons outside socialist units, that conduct control projects, regardless of the function and duration of the project.

The persons who exercise the control are required before starting the project to consult the entries in the uniform control book, that are related to their assignments, for their acquaintance with the objectives and the periods covered in prior projects, the findings made, the measures established and the stage in their implementation.

Article 31. The uniform control book shall be numbered and sealed and shall be kept by the head of the unit or subunit or by his or her deputy, so that it may be supplied at any time to the authorized parties.

#### Chapter IX. Final Provisions

Article 32. Law No 4/1969 on the Organization and Operation of the Economic Council, Article 1 Paragraph 2 of Decree No 77/1971 on the Organization and Operation of the General State Inspectorate for Control of Product Quality, that became Law No 35/1971, and the other legal provisions that are contradictory to the provisions in this law are repealed.

Article 33. This law takes effect on 1 January 1973.

#### Appendix No 1

##### Central Inspections of State Specialized Control

- a. State inspectorate for quality and discipline in construction.
- b. State inspection for labor safety.
- c. Central state sanitary inspectorate.
- d. General state inspectorate for control of administration of fixed assets, fuels, energy and for verification of installations under pressure and hoisting installations.
- e. State inspectorate for price control.
- f. State inspection for agriculture and the food industry.
- g. State inspection of water resources.
- h. General state trade inspectorate.
- i. Inspection for tourism.
- j. State geological mining inspection.
- k. Other inspections established under laws, decrees or decisions of the Council of Ministers.

#### Appendix No 2

##### Model of Uniform Control Book

First name, last name and function of persons required to sign the book, the unit to which they belong and the Crt. number of the authorization		Topic of control	Date of start of control		Date of end of control		Findings, instructions and measures set and datelines; signature of persons provided for in column 1 and of unit's management	No and date of document containing the measures established by the unit that ordered Re-control marks	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

##### Note:

Columns 0-3 shall be completed at the start of the control and columns 4-5, at the end of the control.

Column 6 shall be completed on receipt of the order documents.

In the event that, under legal provisions, control documents are worked out, column 5 shall carry their recording number and date.

In case of issue of contraventions against personnel in the units controlled, for violations in fulfillment of job duties, that were not mentioned in the control documents left to the units controlled, column 5 shall record: the first name, the last name and function of the contravener or of the person punished with disciplinary action, the violation committed and the punitive action imposed.

11710  
CSO: 2700/116

PRICE FREEZE, RELATED SECURITY RIDICULED

Belgrade OMLADINSKE in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 84 p 3

[Commentary by Mirko Mlakar: "Under the Blade of a Wooden Sword"]

[Text] The presidium of Macedonia's trade-union council regards the premature disclosure of the government's price freeze as nothing else than a hostile act. President Bojan Polak of the Yugoslav Veterans' Organization said recently that the unauthorized price increases constitute an event without precedent in our political experience and disrupt the confidence of the working class in the self-managing system. Vojvodina Province party leaders have described the violation of the Federal Executive Council's decree as an assault on stabilization and the living standard of the working people.

Montenegro's Executive Council holds that price ceilings must be strictly implemented--"otherwise, the achievement of the aims and tasks of the policy of economic stabilization would be seriously endangered, the effects of the requisite reconciling of price disparities would be devalued, and unjustifiably severe blows would be facilitated against the living standard of working people and citizens." Trade Minister Luka Reljic has told assembly delegates of the Committee on Trade and Prices, Chamber of Republics and Provinces, that many of the December increases violate the fundamental aims of price policy and the stabilization program: preventing a further rise in inflation, preserving the living standard, eliminating disparities....

The FEC folks must be glowing pink with satisfaction. Their decree on freezing has won all-round support in the forums of sociopolitical organizations, executive councils at all levels, local associations, house councils, and other conscious subjective forces. And how could it not, when this measure accords with our most sacred current and long-term achievement--stabilization--and with the policy of saving the living standard from a fatal decline. United as brothers with the broad masses of the people, the government anticipates the astonishing fruits of its noisy campaign against committers of high treason, those Brankovic wolves out there.

It is nice, indeed, to feel solidarity with a government that protects our living standard, that unselfishly defends us from the plague of inflation, and that burns with a desire to have prices neatly reconciled. On the other hand, how did the FEC decide on its freezing step when previous state-directed coolings of prices proved to be futile?

How much does the federal government's campaign actually accord with the needs of the economy and the workers? What is concealed behind the "need of the moment" and the "best of a set of bad moves"? TANJUG reports that the recovery in production characteristic of the last months of 1983 has slacked off; "a period of anticipation has set in." And frozen prices are one reason for declining shipments and poor supplies of essential raw and other materials. The suppliers of much of the processing industry are dissatisfied with the level of frozen prices and may find a way out in large-scale exports. What will manufacturers do then? Applaud the government that tried with an administrative sword to cut a knot that can be untied only by internal, economic logic? Is our government so naive as to try, with who-knows-how-selected proportions and other beauties of quantitative analysis, with percentual increases approved just prior to the freeze, to bring into line during these few freezing months what the subjects of associated labor must accomplish on their own? On their own, and with the least possible interference from factors outside the economy (unless associated labor is a weak-blooded child that cannot get by without the firm hand of Auntie Government).

Many persons assert that the latest, anti-FEC price increases on numerous products are a threat to the living standard of the working class and other working folk. However, why make such a fuss if last year's "legal" inflation of 60 percent boosted living costs by 80 percent? In other words, if two-thirds of personal incomes were insufficient for everyday subsistence even before the unauthorized defrosting, why should there be such anxiety now for the position of the squeezed workingman? Because the disclosure of the state secret has endangered the expressions of love for the living standard emanating from the federal government, our beloved Saint Georgie that struggles courageously on the one hand against the minimal-standard lizard (more on behalf of some than others inasmuch as 10 percent of Yugoslav households earn almost 4 times as much as the 20 percent of households at the bottom) and on the other hand against inflation and price disparities.

CSO: 2800/207

STUDENT SURVEY IN SECONDARY SCHOOL CAUSES UPROAR

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 255, 3 Dec 83 pp 28-29

[Article by Miroslav Kos]

[Text] At the beginning of October, Branislav Princip and Nevena Simendic, students at the III/2 section of the Educational School Center "Uros Predic" in Pancevo decided to make a secret survey among their school mates. Their goal was to learn what their peers think of the time and country in which they live and how interested they are in sociopolitical events. One ultimate goal was to offer the results of this anonymous survey with their commentary to editors of a youth periodical.

However, they ended up in the news in a different way. When one of the professors discovered what kind of survey it was, he informed the director and the latter informed--State Security Service! In this way everybody was busy: professors and director, local journalists and other writers, local SK committee, parents, youth organization and State Security Service [SDB]. The SDB agents established soon that the survey has no "dark political background" and it seemed that, after all, everything would return to normal. But, as always, it was the journalists who muddle everything up; they continued writing about everything that took place. Of course, some people did not like it at all.

The survey contained 26 questions which had to be answered mainly by circling just one of the offered answers. Here we are with those "most delicate" questions and offered answers which, as we believe, prompted the director to alert the SDB in order to nip the hated enemy's attack in the bud. If he exists, of course!

Well, questions and answers. Here is question No 5. Which system would you choose?

a) self-management b) parliamentary democracy c) centralism, "strong hand"! Interesting! Who would say that these children think about this? Do they even find time to think about this in addition to all those worries about the trial games of our soccer representation?!

Or, look here, something like this: How could one get out of the present crisis? (Crisis?! Who said CRISIS? Author's remark)

a) by changing the leading structures b) by better and more productive labor c) with aid from abroad d) by respecting the laws of economy e) by strict implementation of existing laws and regulations g) by changing the present legal system but preserving self-management relations? It was specified that several answers are allowed to this question!

There were quite a few questions which make a teacher, who usually minds his own business, get panicky. And thus, instead of talking with the 16-year old students and discussing with them within the framework of the curriculum what they only touched upon with their survey, they thought at the Educational Center that it would be best for the kinds to talk about it with SDB agents.

Istvan Barabas, secretary of the local SK committee, thinks that the director did not make a mistake by calling the SDB:

"We are constantly working on the strengthening of social self-protection. Every man should participate in this protection. In this sense, the director proceeded correctly! Nobody has anything against the survey, but it should be organized. None of the teachers here knew about the survey. And I wonder what will we gain by such surveys?! We will only get 'yes' and 'no' answers. What is the purpose of this? We think that the director essentially reacted well and fulfilled his civic duty as a matter of selfprotection! After all, the SDB was formed in order to protect this society and this system! I think that journalists have magnified this thing and that there is nothing to talk about here. Please, let everything go on without noise, above all in the interest of these young people.

Thus, the director fulfilled his "civic duty." But only as a matter of civic selfprotection. It seems that neither he nor most teachers fulfilled their professional duty, and such procedures brought them into the situation in which they fulfill their "civic duty." Anyway, even earlier there were events in Pancevo that simply baited the subjects to the fulfillment of their "civic responsibilities." This happened last spring when posters appeared at factory entrances saying: "What would Marx say today?" Istvan Barabas confirmed this:

"Is it right just to put up posters at the factory entrance, on which everybody can write whatever he wants to? All kinds of slogans can be written in such a way and posted for as long as a week! This is not good for our society! It looks as if we officially and in an organized way were propagating these enemy slogans! What does a young man think when he reads that? And the future rests on young people, doesn't it? I really do not know what motivated the students this time to make this survey? Maybe some fad, there is a lot of talk about it now."

The director of the Educational Center, Milan Vasic, does not know either why the students decided to make the survey. He is also bothered by this question: "It is hard to give an answer. They say they wanted to become journalists. I am rather disappointed by the journalists' writing about all this. I have been disappointed with the writing. I do not know why they did this, but I think that I proceeded correctly. No, I did not look at the survey, the notes, it was a pile of papers."

"We wanted to know how much young people are interested in social problems. We think that this is the most interesting thing now and that youth must be interested in these kinds of problems," Branislav Princip and Nevena Simendic explained "what they wanted" almost in a loud voice. "We did not expect that the director would react like this. But we knew that such a survey could not be made through the youth organization because questions could not then be so direct and sharp. When we distributed the survey, some received it with enthusiasm, one third was scared and refused to answer it, and there were also those who thought that it was stupid and that they should not waste their time on it."

Mladen Djuric is a 3rd year student and he completed the survey sheet. "I am not interested in politics. I am more inclined toward science and technology. Politics does not interest me much, but I answered because it was interesting as an attempt. I answered as I saw things and not as SOMEBODY would want me to see them."

His schoolmate Lidia Slakovic adds:

"There were all kind of scenes. Some students looked up in books when they had to answer the question: What is self-management? There were various answers, from saying that it is 'the most perfect form of socialism so far,' to 'the most perfect way so far for the progress and development of society which is presently stagnating because of the problems that are wellknown,' and to 'the greatest failure of our society'! I think that our teachers were most affected by the fact that it was all done without their knowledge and initiative." It was interesting to hear what the teachers thought of all this, but it was not very easy to reach them. Nevertheless the professor of marxism, Boran Lajh, told us a few sentences about it all. His opinion basically differs from the director's or of the majority of other professors:

"I think that this is a proof of political maturity of the kids, and this is good. This is, in the pedagogical sense, what we should stimulate. We must be proud of what has happened! After all, man can doubt everything and, if he wants, he can make an enemy out of everybody. What has happened is, in my opinion, a sign of mistrust in youth. The only objection I would make is that they did not inform anybody about the survey, and in this way they disturbed school regulations. I think that all the ensuing reactions were hysterical, pastoral, irrational. Ill defined relations between the people in the collective are the cause of everything, and now the kids should perhaps bear all the consequences?! I am saying all this supposing that there is nobody behind the students. I believe them that it is all their work, I simply trust their political maturity."

This is the end of the stories of the participation in the "Pancevo affair," as some would say. But there was no affair. There was none because we believe that in Pancevo there was only an unpleasant example of our poor educational practice. There are no "affairs" but a condition. The easiest thing to do is cutting, disassociating oneself, calling the police to solve the case. In this way, one's "civic duty" has been completely fulfilled. A completely different thing is that nobody thinks he should do his job properly. Insofar as it is still necessary to make secret surveys, this tells that something is not in order, in people's minds, of course, because the school reform may not be so bad, but what is its use if people cannot implement it properly.

However, if you are in a dilemma as to whether school reform achieved the desired goals, you may be helped by five answers offered by Branislav and Nevena, students at the Education Center Uros Predic III/2:

- a) complete failure
- b) complete success
- c) well conceived but poorly realized
- d) partial success
- e) I do not know

Circle one answer only.

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CSO: 2800/190

END